ESSAYS;

READ TO A

LITERARY SOCIETY;

AT THEIR

WEEKLY MEETINGS,

WITHIN THE

COLLEGE, AT GLASGOW.

I. On the influence of Philosophy upon the Fine Arts.

II. On the Composition of the Picture described in the Dialogue of Cebes.

III. On Historical Composition.

EXEMPLARIA GRAECA.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED BY ROBERT AND ANDREW FOULIS

M.DCC.LIX.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

JAMES,

EARL OF ERROL,

LORD HIGH-CONSTABLE OF SCOTLAND;

THESE

ESSAYS,

ON THE TASTE OF SOME OF THE CHIEF

GREEK WRITERS;

WHOSE WORKS HIS LORDSHIP HAS

THE PLEASURE OF ADMIRING IN THE ORIGINAL,

HAVING,

AT A VERY EARLY TIME OF LIFE,

MADE, IN THAT LANGUAGE,

A VERY UNCOMMON PROGRESS;

ARE,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT,

OF RESPECT, DUTY, AND GRATITUDE,

INSCRIBED BY

JA. MOOR.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE INFLUENCE OF

PHILOSOPHY

UPON THE

FINE ARTS,

READ, FEBRUARY VIII, MDCCLV.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

ESSAY

ON THE INFLUENCE OF

PHILOSOPHY

UPON THE

FINE ARTS.

IT is a common, and just, obſervation, that nothing has a more conſiderable and immediate influence upon the manners of a people, than the turn which the public amuſements take among them. in poliſhed nations, theſe amuſements depend, chiefly, upon the three imitative arts of Poetry, Painting, and Muſic. It would, therefore, be of the greatest importance to the happineſs of a nation, if the taste for theſe arts could be ſo conducted, that, their chief aim ſhould always be to che-

riſh and cultivate virtue among the people. thus the places of public reſort and amuſement might become the most agreeable and uſeful ſchools of education; and, thus, theſe fine arts would receive their utmost improvement, and gain the greatest glory, by being employed to the noblest purpoſe, to strike the heart, and make it glow with the most generous and manly ſentiments. for, it is the chief praiſe of theſe engaging arts, that, by the delightful entertainment they preſent to the ſenſes, they can gradually fill the imagination, baniſh all other ideas, command the whole attention, awaken the powers of the mind; and, thus, compoſe, prepare, and fit the heart, for receiving the strongest impreſſions. if, therefore, Philoſophy had the choice what impreſſions they ſhall make, and the full direction of theſe

powerful movers of the human ſoul, then would the triumph of the fine arts be, indeed, complete. and, what a noble triumph this would be, one may eaſily conceive.

Let us imagine, for example, at the famous feaſt of Alexander, that the hand, the voice, and the words of Timotheus, had been directed by a Socrates; what a glorious triumph might muſic, as we may well ſuppoſe, have gained on ſuch an occaſion! Timotheus, instead of poſſeſſing Alexander with the brutal madneſs of revenge, might have inſpired him with the divine enthuſiaſm of benevolence. instead of making him ruſh, like a Fury, to burn a noble city, he might have rouſed him, like a Heroe, to ſome godlike act of goodneſs. the breaſt of the man, who could be made to feel ſo tender a pity for the fate of his enemy the

king of Perſia, might have been as eaſily ſoftened into a generous regret for the miſery he had brought upon the Greeks. thoſe tears which he ſhed for the calamities of Darius, whom he could not recal to life, this great master of the power of muſic might have changed into remorſe for the destruction of Thebes, and tranſported the Macedonian into an immediate vow of releaſing the Grecians from the bondage in which he then held them. and, thus, Alexander, instead of ſnatching up a torch, like a demon from hell, to burn the imperial ſeat of the monarchs of Aſia, would have ariſen, like a god, to proclaim liberty and independence to the most generous ſpirited people in the world.

The Lawgivers and Philoſophers of antiquity, in their plans for the improvement of human happineſs, were well a-

ware of the advantages ariſing from the fine arts, and did not fail to employ their aſſistance. As an instance of which, I propoſe, at preſent, to take notice of what Socrates did in this way: what turn he attempted to give to the taste, which he found among his countrymen, for Poetry, Painting, and Muſic; as far as his influence could reach.

To begin with Painting. it is very remarkable, that, Socrates himſelf appears to have been the first who diſcerned the ſuperior excellency of that style in Painting, which we, now, call the MANNER OF RAPHAEL; in which, to wit, the beauty, grace, and dignity, in the features, in the air, and the attitudes of the figures, beſpeak the favour and esteem of the ſpectators, as being naturally the external indications of correſponding in-

ward characters and manners.

There is left us by Xenophon a ſhort converſation of Socrates with Parrhaſius, the whole deſign of which is to explain this manner in painting, and recommend it to that Painter, as the finest, and most likely to gain univerſal applauſe. to prove this, I need only quote the concluding part of the converſation. 'Don't mankind, ſays 'Socrates, take most delight in looking on 'thoſe features, attitudes, and gestures, by 'means of which the fair, and worthy, 'and amiable, diſpoſitions of the ſoul ap-'pear?' δι' ὧν, τὰ καλά τε, καὶ ἀγαθα, καὶ ἀγαπητὰ ἤθη φαίνεται. Parrhaſius readily apprehends, and heartily concurs with Socrates, both in the ſuperior excellency of this manner in painting, and the ſecurity of its ſucceſs. in one thing, indeed, at the beginning of the converſation, Parrhaſius

mistakes the meaning of Socrates; he falls into that mistake from the common opinion, which prevailed among the Athenians, of the continual εἰρωνεια of Socrates in converſation. the Philoſopher had been just before enumerating all the ſeveral beauties ariſing from figure, colour, motion, light and ſhade. all which Parrhaſius tells him he cou'd imitate. 'But can you paint, ſays Socrates, the ha-'bits and motions of the ſoul? can you 'give us a picture of what in theſe is the 'most engaging, and most ſweet, and most 'affectionate, and most deſirable, and most 'amiable?' these are the words. τὸ πιθανώτατόν τε, καὶ ἡδιςον, καὶ φιλικώτατον, καὶ ποθεινότατον, καὶ ἐρασμιώτατον, ἀπομιμεῖσθε τῆς ψυχῆς ἤθος; the painter had heard him just before enumerate all the objects of the pencil, and now ima-

gines that Socrates had only been catching him by his uſual εἰρωνεια, and had told over the ſeveral objects of painting, only with a view to mention thoſe of philoſophy, by way of preference, as the more excellent; but Socrates immediately explains the meaning of his question to be, whether he could paint the outward effects of thoſe inward habits, as they appear in the looks, the mien, and motions of the body. and, henceforth, the painter and he concur in every thing, exactly.

I have mentioned this circumstance particularly, becauſe one may, perhaps, be apt to mistake it, to the prejudice of Parrhasius; or, at least, of Xenophon; whom indeed we are often ready to mistake. that divine ſimplicity, in imitation of his master, which makes the characteristical excellency of his manner of

writing, is ſo very far from aſſuming any air of ſuperior wiſdom or penetration above the common reach of mankind, and ſo intirely void of the least tincture of oſtentation of genius and abilities, and, from thence, is ſo diametrically oppoſite to the manner of many other philoſophers, that, we are oft-times in hazard, through prejudice or inattention, to form a notion of Xenophon, as a writer ſuperficial, if not ſilly, even in thoſe very places of his works where he is, indeed, most masterly.

But, to return. it is evident, from this paſſage in Xenophon, that, Socrates had, with admirable taste, diſcerned, what ſhould be that style and manner, in painting, which would be the best ſuited to captivate the attention, and raiſe the admiration, of the ſpectator; and, at the ſame

time, ſtrike the mind with the finest impreſſions. and, from hence, I think it is certain, that, he was well aware of the advantage which Philoſophy might make of this fine art, for promoting education and moral inſtruction.

But, how far he had carried his views, in making ſuch a philoſophical uſe of painting, or, what plans of this kind he had himſelf formed, we cannot now know: this being the only converſation of his, now remaining, on that ſubject.

But, tho' we cannot produce any plan of this kind formed by Socrates himſelf, we can, at least, ſay,

'Rem tibi Socraticae poterunt oſtendere chartae.'

I mean the little dialogue of Cebes; the only one remaining of thoſe numerous Socratic dialogues referred to here by Horace, and called, perhaps, by the ge-

neral name of CHARTAE SOCRATICAE, to distinguiſh them from the larger works of Xenophon and Plato. we have ſtill the titles of them preſerved, to a very conſiderable number, by Diogenes Laertius, copied, as he tells us, from the Philoſopher Panaetius, who had been at the pains to diſtinguiſh and enumerate all thoſe which he judged to be the genuine writings of the ſcholars of Socrates. in ſome of thoſe, 'tis likely, we might have met with more direct accounts of this kind, had they been preſerved; as far, at least, as we can judge from that ſpecimen in the only one which now remains.

But, it may be asked, if Socrates had really any ſuch views of making the art of painting uſeful to education, how comes it that we find ſo little of this kind in the works of his chief ſcholar

Plato? one may anſwer, that, Plato might omit it, perhaps, for this very reaſon; becauſe he had been already prevented by ſome of the elder ſcholars of Socrates.

In the other two imitative arts, of Poetry and Muſic, we have more ample proofs remaining of the endeavours of Socrates to give the finest turn to the high taste for theſe arts among the Athenians, as we have alſo of his remarkable ſucceſs. a ſucceſs indeed so illustrious in its conſequences, that they came to make a memorable part of the history of thoſe times; and are, as ſuch, related by the historians.

For this purpoſe, Socrates had entered, early, into an intimate friendſhip with the poet Euripides; who, as he wrote for the theatre, the chief public entertain-

ment at Athens, and of which that people were, in his time, paſſionately fond, cou'd have the more immediate and extenſive influence over them. the converſation, advice, and directions, of Socrates, ſeem to have had their full effect upon Euripides. the poet has entered into the views of the philoſopher through all their extent, and comprehended well the vaſt importance of having the great maxims of happineſs recommended to mankind by introducing them thus adorned with all the graces and charms of Poetry and Muſic. MORALITY, thus conducted to the theatre by Socrates, and brought on the ſtage by Euripides, muſt have made ſuch an appearance as Eve does, in Milton, at her introduction to Adam.

——————————adorn'd
With what all Earth, or HEAVEN, cou'd beſtow,

To make her amiable, on ſhe came
Led by her HEAVEN-TAUGHT votary, tho' UNSEEN,
And guided by his voice———
Grace was in all her steps, heaven in her eye,
In every ges.ure dignity and love.

Socrates cou'd not well have been more happy in the choice of a poet. Euripides had a ſoul to feel, and a genius to expreſs, whatever is most lovely, and most excellent, in ſentiment and character. he touches, with the nicest delicacy, all the finer ſprings and movements of the human heart; every tender emotion, of love, affection, gratitude, friendſhip; every delicate occurrence; every thing truly amiable, or polite, in ſocial life, or hoſpitable intercourſe. witneſs the extreme delicacy of behaviour in Admetus and his ſervants to his guest Hercules. the friendſhip of Pylades and Orestes. the picture of con-

jugal love in the character of Alcestis. the strong emotions of gratitude in Hercules. but, it is needleſs to mention particulars; for, it is the great aim of all his poetry, to diſplay, in the moſt amiable dreſs, all the virtues, all the charities, that render private life moſt happy; while, again, the public virtues, the love of our country, the paſſion for its liberty and independence, appear, every where, almoſt in every drama, in the full vigour and luſtre of the Grecian genius.

Such were the effects of the inſtruction and directions which this poet received from Socrates. hence Euripides himſelf was, deſervedly, called THE PHILOSOPHER OF THE THEATRE. ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς φιλόσοφος, was a common appellation of him. hence that high encomium given him by Quintilian, as a poet

full of the finest ſentiments, and, in the maxims of philoſophy, almost a match for the philoſophers themſelves.-----'in 'iis quae a ſapientibus tradita ſunt, ipſis 'poene par.'

Socrates and Euripides had the ſatiſfaction to ſee the good fruits of their joint endeavours. the Athenians were charmed with the noble ſentiments awakened in them by the poet. they felt, with high delight, the generous emotions he kindled in their hearts. they looked on him as inſpired by a Muſe truly divine; whoſe heavenly power they found benignly employed, in promoting their happineſs, by bringing their minds to the best temperament; and, by calling forth, and cheriſhing in their breasts, every humane feeling, every amiable affection, every manly ſentiment; and, thus, rendering them, as

it were, fully masters of all their virtue.

On this account, Euripides became their favourite poet;

> -------morataque recte fabula
> Valdius oblectat populum, meliuſque moratur.

they carried their love and esteem for him to the greatest length. they preferred him even to Sophocles; who had a brighter, and a bolder, natural genius; and was maſter of a more copious, and much richer, flow of poetical fancy. But, tho' they ſaw the muſe of Sophocles mount with a stronger ſpring, and ſoar a loftier pitch, yet, they distinguiſhed a ſuperior merit in the muſe of Euripides. for, tho' ſhe roſe, indeed, on ſhorter wings, and was leſs daring in her flight, they perceived ſhe had a nobler aim, a more divine direction. this fine people had a true taste. they judged of the merit of the two poets,

by the value of the effects their poetry wrought upon the audience. they found the one captivate their imaginations; but the other raviſhed their hearts. they admired the fire of Sophocles; but they admired ſtill more the feelings of Euripides. they preferred the warmth of ſentiment to the glow of fancy; and, in that muſe, who invited them to the moral feaſt of the ſoul, they acknowledged a ſuperior divinity, above her who preſented them with the moſt enchanting pleaſures of the imagination. the choice did equal honour to the taſte of the people and the views of the poet. and, to ſpeak in the language of thoſe times, the gods approved the judgment of the Athenians. the voice of the oracle ratified the ſuffrage of the people. heaven and earth united in the preference of Euripides.

In fine, this poet became ſo much the darling inſtructer of Athens, that, it was uſual, for many of the citizens, to have all the fine paſſages of his tragedies by heart. they carried their esteem ſtill farther. they taught thoſe paſſages to their children, as part of their education. this custom proved, on one occaſion, the cauſe of a memorable deliverance, to a great number of Athenians, from the most deplorable diſtreſs; and occaſioned the most ſingular glory to Euripides that ever poet gained.

His fame had ſpread over all Greece. in particular, the people of Syracuſe, from ſome few ſpecimens they had ſeen, were become extremely enamoured of his poetry; tho' they had, indeed, but little opportunity of enjoying it; being then at war with Athens. at the cloſe of that war,

the Athenians met with a fatal diſaster, in the harbour of Syracuſe. the greatest, and best, part, of their fleet and army, were taken priſoners. the people of Syracuſe had, in the courſe of the war, been exceedingly exaſperated against the Athenians. an aſſembly of that city was now called, to deliberate upon the fate of the captives; on that occaſion, the popular leaders inflamed, to the utmost, the resentments of the multitude; and rendered them utterly implacable to the priſoners. in the rage of revenge, this aſſembly condemn'd theſe unfortunate men, to periſh, by a most ignominious and cruel death. they were crouded together, under ground, in the Sicilian mines; and left there, to rot in their wounds; or periſh, in the most wretched miſery, by want of freſh air; ſtifled, at the ſame time, by the noiſome

filth of the place, and starving with hunger. for, they had only ſo much food put down along with them, as, by prolonging their life for ſome time, would ſerve the more to aggravate their miſery. ſuch was the diſmal fate of many thouſand Athenians.

It is a moſt astoniſhing thing, that, this very aſſembly of Syracuſe, while, agitated, thus, by all the violence of the most cruel and furious revenge; and, smote with the wildest panic of popular phrenzy; yet, burning, as they were, with rage and reſentment, could, still, even then, remember their fondneſs for Euripides. their enthuſiaſm for the Poet was as extraordinary, as the fury of their revenge upon his countrymen. For, in that very aſſembly, and by the ſame decree, they excepted, from the general doom, all thoſe,

and only thoſe, who could repeat any paſſages of Euripides. thoſe, they not only pardoned; but, carried home with them to their houſes; where they cheriſhed, and careſſed them, with the greatest fondneſs. and, after entertaining them, for ſome time, to hear thoſe admired verſes; and, to cauſe their ſons get them by heart, from the mouths of theſe Athenians; they reſtored their priſoners to their full liberty, and diſmiſſed them with honour.

Mean time, the news of this had come to Athens; and gave riſe to an expreſſion, which has been preſerved down to poſterity. when a ſtranger, at Athens, inquired about the fate of any Athenian of his acquaintance, who had been in the Sicilian expedition; the common anſwer was; 'he is either dead, or repeating the

'verſes of Euripides.' ἤτοι τέθνηκεν, ἢ διδάσκει γράμματα.

As ſoon as the captives got home, from Syracuſe to Athens; they flew, together, to the houſe of Euripides; and, with tears of gratitude, embraced, and bleſſed, him, as their deliverer, from ſlavery, miſery, and death. what a divine joy must then have overflowed the heart of Euripides! one, of his just, and delicate, ſenſibility of ſoul, cou'd feel this finest pleaſure, to the full. for, the love of his country, and of his fellow-citizens, was one of the most remarkable parts of his character, as a man; and, the recommending this virtue makes one of the distinguiſhing beauties of his poetry. Plutarch ſeems to have been extremely touch'd with ſome of his fine deſcriptions of this kind. one is agreeably ſurprized, to ſee, how much they have a-

nimated even this grave and ſober-minded old man; how the ſpirit of them, almoſt, inſpires him, and makes him riſe above his natural level. he warms at the flame of Euripides; ſtarts into a kind of tranſport; and ſeems to run, almoſt, upon poetic feet; breaking out into this lively expreſſion; nearly, in the very numbers, and with the vigour, of Iambic verſe.

Τίς γὰρ εἴρηκε τῆς ἑαυτῦ πατρίδος
Ἐγκώμιον τοιῦτον οἷον Ἐυριπίδης.

Upon all theſe accounts, the Athenians became ſo proud of the works of Euripides, that, they refuſed a copy of them to a powerful king; tho' he begg'd it, at firſt, as a particular favour; and, afterwards, threatened them with a war, for the refuſal.

Now, there ſeems to be little doubt; that, Socrates, by his converſation, by his

advice, and aſſistance, was, really, the ſecret cauſe of this uſeful co-operation of Philoſophy and Poetry; ſo very remarkable, in Euripides, above all other poets, as, to make him be looked upon, in that reſpect, as ſingular, and without a ſecond. what he owed to Socrates, appears to have been, COMMONLY, known at Athens. Diogenes Laertius, expreſly, ſays it was ᾽ΕΔΟΚΕΙ *συμποιεῖν Ευριπίδῃ*. other poets, his enemies, even took advantage of the public opinion; and gave a malicious turn to it; as if Socrates had even compoſed, and wrote, all the most admired paſſages in his plays. this malice was, even, vented from the public theatre, by the poets of the old licentious Comedy; who were his chief enemies; hating him, out of jealouſy, and envy; becauſe he was, ſo much, the darling poet of the people.

when any new tragedy of Euripides met with a great, and univerſal, applauſe; it was a common thing, for the comic-poet, who play'd the next farce, to publiſh, from the ſtage, that, the people had miſplaced their praiſe; and, applauded Euripides, for what was wrote by Socrates.

There are, ſtill remaining, ſeveral inſtances of their ſatirical malice, and libertine ſcurrility, of this kind, against Euripides.

The TROES, a tragedy of his, had been acted, with great applauſe. ſoon after, MNESILOCHUS, a comic-poet, brought a farce upon the ſtage; in which, he aſſured the people, that, if the Troës of Euripides had any poetical fire, the fewel had been furniſhed by Socrates; and, to recommend his malice by ſome farcical drollery; inſtead of Troës, the

proper name of the tragedy, he uſed, for the title of it, the ſynonymous word Φρύγες; that he might have an opportunity to play, upon the firſt ſyllables, of ΦΡΥΓ-ες, and ΦΡΥΓ-ανον which ſignifies FEWEL.

Φρυγ-ες ἐσὶ καινὸν δρᾶμα τοῦ Εὐριπίδου,
Ὦ, ἡ Σωκράτης τὰ ΦΡΥΓ-ανα ὑποτίθησι.

On another occaſion, this Mneſilochus told the people, from the ſtage; that, Euripides was, only, a ſort of hammerman to Socrates;

Εὐριπίδης Σωκρατογόμφευε.

and did no more than drive the nails, and faſten together, in the dramatical form, the ſeveral pieces, which Socrates had prepared, and faſhioned, for him.

CALLIAS, another of the comic-poets of that time, in one of his farces, introduced Euripides himſelf, upon the ſtage, confeſſing theſe kind of obligations to Socra-

tes. as nothing, at Athens, was ſo ſerious, or ſo ſacred, as to eſcape the buffoonry of the old Comedy, this Callias ſeems to have been profligate enough, to turn, into farce, even the deliverance of the Athenian priſoners at Syracuſe. for this purpoſe, (as it wou'd ſeem, by the fragment remaining,) he wrote a farce, which he called the CAPTIVES; in which, he, first, introduced theſe Athenians, upon the stage, giving a ludicrous account of the ſeveral adventures they met with, at Syracuſe, as ſchoolmasters to the Sicilian youth. then, made them go, in proceſſion, to thank Euripides; endeavouring to turn into ridicule their gratitude to that poet. last of all, he brought Euripides himſelf upon the stage, as just after the captives had left him; and makes one accost him thus.

Now you are cramm'd with praiſe, and puff'd with pride;
Now you look big, and ſwell, and lift the head.

Ἤδη σὺ σέμνῃ, ϗ φρονεῖς ὕτω μέγα.

To which he makes Euripides anſwer;

And well I may; thanks to good Socrates.

Ἔξεστι γάρ μοι. Σωκράτης γὰρ αἴτιος.

In the ſame manner, Aristophanes, who had an equal ſpite at both the poet, and philoſopher, wrote a farce, expreſly, against each of them.

The FROGS is, entirely, a ſatire on Euripides; as the CLOUDS is, on Socrates. in one of his editions of the CLOUDS, for he altered that play once or twice, he abuſed them both together; Socrates, as writing, and Euripides, as fathering, ſilly plays; there, ſpeaking of Socrates, he tells the people;

'This is the Euripides, who writes you

'all thoſe wiſe, ſententious, canting,
'preaching, plays.'

Εὐριπίδης, δὲ, ὁ τὰς τραγῳδίας ποιῶν,
Τὰς ΠΕΡΙ-λαλέσας, ἔστιν ἃς, τὰς ΣΟΦΑΣ.

As Euripides wrote for the theatre, Socrates had, by that means, the advantage, of engaging Muſic, at the ſame time with Poetry, in the ſervice of Philoſophy; and, in that very way, too, in which, their united force cou'd make the ſtrongest impreſſion; and be the moſt extenſively uſeful, in improving the minds, and manners, of a people. I mean, in the CHORUS of the antient tragedy.

It is well known, that, tragedy, in general, owed many of its improvements to Euripides; and, indeed, arrived at its perfection, under him. and, to me, it ſeems very probable, that, this poet, by the advice and aſſiſtance of Socrates, brought

the part of the chorus to that truly philoſophical standard, ſo finely deſcribed by Horace.

Ille bonis faveatque, et conſilietur amicè;
Et regat iratos; et amet peccare timentes:
Ille dapes laudet mensae brevis; ille ſalubrem
Justitiam, legeſque, et apertis otia portis:
Ille tegat commiſſa; Deoſque precetur, et oret,
Ut redeat miſeris, abeat fortuna ſuperbis.

Now, if, along with this, we remember, that, the language of the chorus was adorned, and dignified, with the most grand and lofty imagery the boldest poetry could riſe to; and, at the ſame time, accompanied, with all the powers, and blandiſhments, of harmony; we cannot, I think, well, conceive it poſſible, to contrive a nobler junction, of Philoſophy, Poetry, and Muſic; all three, united, thus, and, like the Graces, advancing hand in hand; to charm the ear, to enchant the imagi-

nation, and fire the ſoul with the love of every generous and manly virtue.

Ariſtotle, indeed, has obſerved of Euripides; that, in the chorus, of ſome of his plays, he has not, always, adhered to that ſtrict propriety; which requires, that, the ſentiments, and reflections, between the acts, ſhould always ariſe, immediately, from the laſt occurrences in the drama; and be, continually, referring to the action of the play. the rule is right. yet, if, Euripides, intent on the moral improvement of his audience, has, on occaſion, relax'd a little, from the moſt rigid ſtrictneſs of dramatical compoſition; it is, at leaſt, an amiable, perhaps, a ſplendid fault.

AN ESSAY ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE PICTURE DESCRIBED IN THE DIALOGUE OF CEBES.

READ, MARCH I. MDCCLIV.

ESSAY

ON THE

COMPOSITION

OF THE

PICTURE

DESCRIBED IN THE

DIALOGUE OF CEBES.

THIS little dialogue, which we, commonly, call the TABLE of Cebes; has been, justly, esteemed, and admired, by the best judges; as one of the most valuable remains of antiquity. it recommends itself, immediately, to a reader of taste; by the purity of expreſſion; by a free, and unaffected, elegance of style; and, by a certain amiable ſimplicity of compoſition;

which are the genuine, and, perhaps, inimitable, characteriſtics of the finest age of Attic writers; and, in all which, Cebes is not inferior to Xenophon himſelf.

But, our attention is, yet more, engaged; and, we raiſe our esteem, still, higher; when we enter into the ſubject; and obſerve the deſign, and the views, of the writer; when we find him, in the ſame beautiful ſimplicity of manner, explain the ſentiments, and unfold the principles, of the moſt just and pure philoſophy; pointing out the natural tendencies, and final iſſue, of the various purſuits in life; stating their true amount; and ſhowing, how much that falls ſhort of the just ſum of real happineſs. when he goes on, ſtill farther, to examine, upon the ſame principles, the ſeveral arts and ſciences; inquires, into their real merit, and impor-

tance; and, by the touchstone of Philoſophy, tries their intrinſic worth; that he may fix the standard of their value, in the mutual intercourſe of ſocial happineſs. we look, with veneration, on this awful Cenſor of the ſciences. we ſubmit to his authority; and, while we tremble at his power, we revere his wiſdom and integrity. we own the justice of his deciſion; even, while we feel ourſelves, a little, ſorry, at the ſeeming ſeverity of the ſentence. but, tho' we yield, ſomewhat unwillingly, at first; as the Romans did, ſometimes of old, yet, like them, too, we cannot, but, at length, acknowledge our own mistakes, and prejudice; and acquieſce in his impartial judgment; convinced, that, he is, then, acting, truly, for the greatest public good; when, with ſuperior command, he ſummons, to appear,

at his tribunal, the ſeveral claſſes of the ſciences and arts; reduces them to order; aſſigns, to each, their place, and rank; confines them to their proper ſtations; and preſcribes the bounds they are not to tranſgreſs; requiring, of them all, to keep, in due ſubordination, and obedience, to that chief master-art, and ſovereign ſcience; which claims, from all the rest, by the great laws of nature, their ſervice, their ſubjection, and allegiance.

Here, we recogniſe, more immediately, the ſcholar, and, as his master calls him, the constant companion, of Socrates; and find his ſentiments, in theſe things, exactly the ſame with thoſe of his master; as they are left us, by Xenophon.

As, the great doctrine, he inſists on, is this due ſubordination, of the ſeveral ſciences, and arts; and, to make them all

ſubſervient, to that most uſeful knowlege, and highest kind of learning, which he calls True Education; ſo, he has given us, in the plan, and compoſition, of his dialogue, a noble instance, how this may, best, be put in practice. he chuſes, for that purpoſe, Painting; an art, which was, in his time, in the highest reputation and esteem; and, which, none, but ἐλεύθεροι, or gentlemen, were, by law, allowed to practiſe.

This, too, is, intirely, in the taste, and manner, of his master Socrates; whoſe common way, we know, it was, to make the favourite tastes, and faſhionable purſuits, of his young countrymen, the means of engaging their attention, of awakening their curioſity, and elevating their views, to things, of more importance, in ſociety; employing, thus, the studies they

were fond of, as vehicles, for conveying to their minds, without diſtaſte, the wholeſome medicine of ſound advice.

It is in this taſte, that, Cebes has laid the plan of his little dialogue; and ſhown, by an example, what excellent uſe, in education, may be made of the art of painting, properly applied. he lays the ſcene, of the dialogue, in a temple; celebrated, for the rarities it contained; and, on that account, viſited by all curious travellers. he ſuppoſes, that, in the moſt conſpicuous part of the temple, there was hung up, a grand, and curious picture; which never failed to draw the attention of all who came to the place; as, the ſingularity of the ſubject, when they began to examine it, naturally excited, in them, a ſtrong deſire to underſtand it; and made them wiſh for ſomebody, who cou'd explain

the story, repreſented in the painting.

The dialogue ſuppoſes, that, ſuch an interpreter was, always, at hand. a philoſopher, who lived upon the ſpot; and dedicated his time to the ſervice of the temple; and, who enjoy'd, by this means, the most favourable opportunity, of entering into converſation, with all who reſorted to the place; and, by readily offering his ſervice, to gratify their curioſity, cou'd make his converſation, at once, obliging, and intereſting, too; and, thus, ſecure a welcome entertainment to the best instruction. nothing, indeed, cou'd furniſh a more eaſy, or, a more natural, opportunity, of gaining that great end; which, we ſee, Horace recommends ſo much; and has repeated, over and over again, ſo many ſeveral times, and various ways. 'MISCERE UTILE DULCI.—

'DELECTANDO, PARITERQUE, MO-
'NENDO.—PRODESSE, ET, DELEC-
'TARE.--SIMUL, ET, JUCUNDA, ET
'IDONEA, DICERE, VITAE.'

To connect Painting, in this manner, with Education and Philoſophy; and, to make an excellent leſſon of ſublime moral, even, the neceſſary means of underſtanding a fine picture; is, to be ſure, the nobleſt improvement, of which, that, or, any of the imitative arts, are capable.

Cebes is the firſt we know, who conceiv'd the deſign, of ſuch an alliance, between Philoſophy and Painting; and, formed a plan of operations, for advancing the mutual intereſts of both. and, all will own, that, the deſign was noble; and worthy of the genius of the Socratic Philoſophy. but, there are ſome, who enter, into this deſign, as readily, and warmly, as

any can; yet, are not, quite, ſo ſatisfy'd, as to the propriety of execution, in the hands of Cebes. among the ancients, indeed, he is, always, mentioned, as the great model of this kind of compoſition. thus, Lucian; whoſe taste, at least, is not diſputed; wherever he attempts any thing of this kind of pictureſque deſcription; always introduces it, by quoting Cebes, as the great original, and celebrated model. for, ſuch is the proper meaning of his words——Βέλομαι, δὲ, ὡσπὲρ ὁ Κεβής ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ, εἴκονα τινὰ γράψαι——and, ἐθέλω, δὲ, σοί, πρῶτον, ὡσπερ ὁ Κεβής ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ, εἰκόνα γράψαμενος----

But, in the preſent age, his character, in this reſpect, ſeems to have ſunk, conſiderably, from what it was, of old; even, thoſe, who have the highest esteem for his philoſophy, think, but very indiffe-

rently, of his taste, in the compoſition of a picture.---the MORAL is ſublime; but, the Allegory, abſurd.---the practice of his maxims will raiſe a good man, to pure, and god-like, happineſs; but, the execution of his deſign wou'd make a painter ridiculous. for, ſay they, his principal characters come trooping on, ſo fast, and thick; ſo many ſwarms, of clustering groupes, and crouding mobs; and, ſuch a rout, of ſauntering, strolling, vagrant figures; as makes the whole appear, just, one great motely heap of-----confuſion, worſe and worſe confounded; and, his picture of human life is, more, like a dream of the chaos; than, an image of the creation. nay, which is worst, indeed, of all; he sketches away, quite, in defiance, of the first, and fundamental, law of a picture; the Unity of time. the ſame individual fi-

gure appears to you, over and over again, in the ſame piece, engaged in different ſcenes, ſucceeding one another.

If theſe objections be juſt; and well, founded; they are, to be ſure, argument, more than enough, againſt his having any title to the least merit, as a writer of the kind he would pretend to. the blunders are groſs, and grievous; and mortal to his reputation, in an age of taste. the ancients have been ſadly mistaken, in their opinion of him. perhaps, they were ſo enamoured of his fine MORAL, that, like fond lovers, they grew blind to all his faults. but, as for Lucian, HE cannot be in earnest, here. he was not of THAT cast of amorous complexion. his compliments are counterfeit; and he must, needs, be ſneering; to which, indeed, he is, a little wickedly, given; and, that not ſeldom; and

Cebes, here, deſerved the ſharpest ridicule. he is without excuſe. for, at the time he wrote, true compoſition was well understood, among the painters; and, practised, in perfection. Panaeus, with his brother Phidias, Timagoras, Polygnotus, and Apollodorus of Athens, had lived, before him. Zeuxis, Timanthes, Androcydes; Eupompus, Parrhasius; and Pamphilus, the master of Apelles; were, all of them, his co-temporaries. his guilt is glaring. he ſins, against the laws of art, through wilful ignorance; or, elſe, in proud conceit, will, needs, attempt a thing above the meaſure of his genius. he might have found ſome eaſier conveyance for his precepts. he ſhou'd have, better, judged his distance; taken a nearer stand; from whence, he cou'd be ſurer of his aim; rather, than, ſhamefully, fall ſhort; by ſhooting, at a

mark, beyond his reach. why wou'd he take in hand the bow he cou'd not draw? or, why had he the vanity, to think, he cou'd apply the force, and manage all the powers, of a complex machine; too nicely artificial, to work, or move, under the clumſy management of ſuch unskilful hands? had he no friend, to do him a kind office? to pull his ear; and, tell him, roundly,

-----Paſtorem, Tityre, pingues
Paſcere, oportet, oves; diductum dicere carmen.'

His artleſs way may take, indeed, with country ſwains; but, he will be laugh'd at, by the poliſh'd world. or, if, he, needs, will quit his flocks; and leave his fellow-ſhepherds; to come abroad, in ſearch of new adventures; and give a proof of his BOEOTIAN valour, upon the giant Vice; why enter, thus, the lists, cumbered

with mail and arms, he had not prov'd. better, to have come on, without parade; in his own ſhepherd's guiſe; accoutered, only, with his ruſtic weapons; the club, the ſling; and ſcrip, filled with ſome good ſmooth ſtones, well choſen from the brook; and, thus, to have advanced, againſt this Philiſtin; and, done the beſt he cou'd; by that dexterity, at rural exerciſe, to which he had been bred, and could excel in.

This, as I apprehend, is the full meaning, of thoſe objections I have heard to Cebes. I have endeavoured, by a fair, and regular, inquiry, to examine, how far, there is, or, is not, in his deſcription of the picture, any thing, which can be thought a juſt foundation for them. I have convinc'd myſelf, there is not. and, propoſe, at preſent, to lay before the company, and

ſubmit to their opinion, the reaſons, which induce me to think ſo; and, to believe, there is, in fact, no ſuch perplexing multiplicity of figures, as is, by ſome, imagigined; that, the whole ordonnance is regular, and free from all confuſion; that, the chief groupes are in the fore-ground, next the eye; and, gradually, grow fewer, the farther they retire; till, at last, in the third incloſure, farthest back, there is not, ſo much, as, one man, at all; that, the action, of each groupe, is expreſſed by a few of the foremost figures; ſo, as, the rest may, only, fill the eye, without distracting the attention; and, lastly, that, the picture is ſo very far from repreſenting the ſame individual perſon, over again, in different places, and ſucceſſive actions; that, through the whole of it, there is not any ONE man, repreſented, SINGLY, in

any ONE particular action. I ſhall, alſo, take notice, as I go on, of the arrangement of the groupes; the unity of deſign; the perſpective, and landskip; and, endeavour to ſhow, that, theſe are not neglected, in the deſcription; but, all marked out, distinctly; tho', in a ſhort, and eaſy, manner; as it were, by the by; and, commonly, in a ſingle word. ſuch ſeeming negligence was proper, in a deſcriber, when ſuppoſed to ſpeak to perſons, then, actually, looking on the picture.

There are two ways, for a painter, to repreſent a variety of actions, which are ſuppoſed to have, all, one tendency; concurring to produce one event, and uniting in one final iſſue. the first is, by a Series, of ſeveral pieces, to be ſeen ſucceſſively; the later, still, connecting with the

former; each repreſenting ſome one of theſe actions; and, the whole, together, as ONE ſet, exhibiting the ONE final tendency of all. ſuch kind of united ſets of pictures are, Hogarth's Progreſs of a Rake; and, of a Harlot; and, of Induſtry, and Idleneſs.

The other way a painter takes, to repreſent SUCH a variety of actions; is, by exhibiting them, all together, in one piece; not, indeed, as happening to the ſame perſon, ſucceſſively, at different times; but, to ſeveral different perſons, at one and the ſame time. this way is, likewiſe, practiſed by Hogarth; in his March to Finchly-common, and his Bartholomew-Fair; in which laſt, all the various ſcenes, of clamorous riot, diſſolute diverſions, and ludicrous accidents; which, at one time or other, commonly, happen, in the courſe

of that fair; he exhibits, in one piece, together; as going on, all, at one time; but, among different perſons; and, in the different booths, and quarters, of Smithfield. this, tho' not just EXACTLY according to nature; yet, is a liberty univerſally allowed, in all the imitative arts; wherever, the effect of the whole will be ſtronger, by having all the parts, together, at once; than, by introducing them, ſeverally, in ſucceſſion.

And this is the method of Cebes, in HIS picture. except, only, that, he is not obliged to deviate, in the leaſt, from real nature. the ONE whole action, of his piece, is LIFE; and the ſeveral varieties of it exhibited, as happening, to various perſons, at one and the ſame time. his point of TIME is the preſent moment, to every ſpectator, while he is looking

upon the picture. hence the propriety of the dedication to KPONOΣ. for, in his picture, just as in real nature, there are, at any one point of time, conſidered as the preſent; ſome, just about to come into life; ſome, already entered; ſome, guided, only, by their appetites, and paſſions; ſome, lucky, ſome unlucky, in the goods of fortune; others, purſuing various liberal arts, and different kinds of literature; and, other ſome, in ſearch of moral knowledge, and, on the road to happineſs.

This is, I think, undoubtedly, the PLAN of Cebes, as to the UNITY OF TIME. we ſhall examine, by and by, whether, or not, he, ſtrictly, adheres to it, every where, in the execution.

In the next place; it is, manifeſtly, plain, from the very beginning, as well

as from the whole ſtrain, of the dialogue; that, he ſuppoſes a particular explication was abſolutely neceſſary to underſtand the action of the picture. in a picture, from History, or common Mythology, antient or modern, the ſpectators are ſuppoſed, ſo far acquainted with the ſubject, as, to know the chief circumſtances; antecedent, and conſequent, to the action repreſented. Paintings of this kind, like the ſcenes of dramatic poetry, require no intermediate explicatory narration. all, here, is REPRESENTED. we know the birth, the ſtrength, and other heroic qualities, of young Hercules, antecedent to his choice between virtue and vice. and, we know, too, that, the conſequence of his choice was, a glorious life; ſpent in a continual courſe of actions, the moſt beneficent to mankind. this is enough to

interest us, immediately, in the action of ſuch a picture. but, in one, whoſe ſubject is a new philoſophical allegory, we need a particular explication; and, in ſome caſes, it is, even, indiſpenſibly neceſſary. for, the characters, concerned in ſuch an allegory, may be too many, to come in, all, into one piece. ſome, then, must be left out; that the reſt may appear, without confuſion. thoſe, which are ſo left out, and their connexions with the reſt, must be ſupply'd, by the narration of the deſcriber; who, thus, by adding theſe connecting circumſtances, of the ſeveral particular actions with each other, unites them, all, in one; and makes the general action of the whole complete.

Such a picture is, in this reſpect, like an EPIC POEM; where, the chief parts of the action are dramatically repreſented,

by the characters concerned; and, the rest, fill'd up, by the poet's own narration.

This, I think, is, exactly, the plan of Cebes, in the ACTION of HIS picture. this action is HUMAN LIFE; conſidered as one complex WHOLE. thoſe parts of life, which can, at once, without confuſion, be repreſented, together, in one piece, are, accordingly, repreſented, as the ſeveral parts of the picture. thoſe, again, which cannot, are ſupply'd, by the narration of the attending Philoſopher.

Cebes gives notice of this, immediately, as ſoon as the converſation of the dialogue begins. 'This picture, ſays the old 'man, cannot be underſtood by a ſtran-'ger. it requires a very particular expli-'cation; and, that explication, too, is of 'no ſmall importance, to the man who

'hears it; even, no leſs, than, his future 'happineſs, depends on it.' 'tis plain, then, that, the part of the DESCRIBER is eſſential, in the plan of the picture.

Accordingly, in the progreſs of the deſcription, ſome instances of this are manifest, at first ſight, to every body; and beyond all doubt, or contradiction, I mean, ſome of the particular actions, and ſome of the characters, are, most evidently, intended to be, only, IN PART expreſſed in the painting; as incapable of farther repreſentation, in one piece; and, the rest, therefore, left, for the deſcriber, to ſupply, by narration.

Such, for example, is the action of the ΔΑΙΜΩΝ, or GENIUS of human life; and, ſuch, the character, and actions of ΤΥΧΗ, FORTUNE. in the painting, the genius is repreſented, standing; with a ſcroll, in

one hand; and, pointing, with the other, in the attitude of one giving directions, to the croud, who ſtand by him; ὥσπερ δεικνύων τι τῷ ὄχλῳ. painting cou'd go no farther, in one piece. therefore, the particular directions, he is giving, are, afterwards, explain'd, by narration.

So, alſo, FORTUNE; first, in the picture, ſhe is repreſented, STANDING, on a round ſtone; blind, and, with a frantic air. then, her actions are narrated, by the deſcriber; upon the ſtranger's asking him, what was her buſineſs; αὕτη, ἦν, τι ἔργον ἔχει;——'She runs about, every 'where, anſwers he; giving, to ſome; and, 'taking, from others; without rule, or di'ſtinction.' ſuch a COURSE of actions, as this, cou'd not, poſſibly, come into a picture. her character, therefore, in this reſpect, is only, figuratively, painted, by

the Emblem of the round ſtone. 'her 'emblem, adds he, points out, very well, 'her fickle character. τὸ σημεῖον καλῶς 'μηνύει τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς.'

This diſtinction, of what is PAINTED, from what is only NARRATED, is, in my opinion, the true key, to every part of the deſcription. without it, we ſhall be, continually, ſtopped; and, at a loſs, how to proceed; we ſhall be diſturbed, and perplexed; and, fancy ourſelves oppreſſed, by the crouds of figures, we apprehend are coming on us, from the picture; but, which, in fact, have no exiſtence; except, in our own imagination; like thoſe phantoms, which haunt men, when alone, in the dark. this is a light, before which, theſe apparitions will vaniſh; and, nothing appear, but what is real.

And, as this diſtinction is ſo very eſ-

ſential. Cebes has taken care to mark it, exactly, wherever it takes place; ſo, that, we need never loſe ſight of it; or, ever, be at a loſs, for ſo neceſſary a guide. we have, only, to follow the motion of the wand, which he has put, for that purpoſe, in the hand of the deſcriber; and, with which, he, always, points to every figure, in the picture; giving notice, at the ſame time, by theſe warning words, ὁρᾶτε, you ſee; or, οὐχ ὁρᾶτε; don't you ſee? the deſcription, I ſay, of every part of the picture, is introduced, either, by theſe words; or, by a queſtion, from the ſpectator, about ſome figure, he has, of himſelf, already, caſt his eyes on.

The narrative part, again, begins, where the deſcription of the painting ends; and, is, either, introduced, by the ſpectator; who, commonly, when done with look-

ing at that part of the painting, enquires, ſome further, about the figures he has ſeen; and asks, what is their buſineſs in life. or, if this part begin from the deſcriber, the very words, in which he enters on it, are, always, ſuch, as carry, in their very form and ſenſe, the plaineſt marks, that, what they introduce, is, now, NARRATION, only.

I ſhall, next, endeavour to apply this obſervation, and ſome others, which will, occaſionally, occur, to each of the ſeveral parts of the deſcription; in the order they ly, in the dialogue; and, from the words of it, literally, tranſlated.

It begins with the figures on the outſide of the great incloſure; on the foreground, next the eye. and, firſt; the groupe of thoſe, who are ABOUT to come into life; with the GENIUS, at

the upper end of them, on the farther ſide. 'The deſcriber, ſays Cebes, took 'up a little wand; and, with it, pointing 'to the picture; you SEE, ſaid he, this 'incloſure, here? we SEE it. ὁρᾶτε; ὁρῶ-'μεν. you must know, then, first of all; 'this place is called LIFE. and, this 'croud, here, this multitude, who are 'standing still, ἑφεςὼς, near to the gate; 'are thoſe, who are ABOUT to enter into 'life. and, that old-man, who stands, 'there, at the UPPER end of them, and 'on the farther ſide, ὁ ΑΝΩ ἑςηκὼς; who 'has a ſcroll, in one hand; and holds the 'other, as if, pointing out ſomething; he 'is called the GENIUS.' thus far the picture.

Then follows an explication, of what is meant by his pointing out with one hand; that, he is giving directions, to

thoſe who enter; how to behave, as ſoon as, they HAVE come into life; and, pointing out the road, they muſt take, if they are to be happy IN life.

This makes the tranſition to the next figure, DECEPTION; thus.

'What road, then, ſaid I, muſt they 'take? or, how is it they are to do? you 'SEE, ſaid he, ὁρᾷς, by the ſide of the 'gate, a ſeat, placed, directly, in the line 'of that path καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, καθ' 'ὃν, along which, the croud enter; upon 'which ſeat there ſits a woman; of an en-'gaging look, in a ſtudied poſture of ad-'dreſs; and, holding, in her hand, a CUP.' thus far the picture. then, the ſpectator asks her name, and buſineſs. 'but, who 'is ſhe? ſaid I. her name is DECEPTION; 'and ſhe makes all mankind err.------ 'Ay, pray, what is it ſhe does? εἶ-

'τα, τί πράττει.---She gives, to thoſe who
'enter into life, a draught of this her
'cup. And, what is it they drink? ER-
'ROR, ſaid he, and IGNORANCE. Well;
'what then? When they have drunk,
'they go on into life. Do ALL, then,
'drink, or not? ALL drink; but, more;
'or, leſs.'

After this natration, he goes on, to the figures, of the picture, WITHIN the firſt incloſure. but, before we proceed, let us ſtop a little, here; to conſider the diſpoſition of thoſe, WITHOUT the incloſure, already deſcribed.

Let us ſuppoſe a painter employ'd, to make a draught of this deſign; and, examine, whether Cebes has not, thus far, marked out every thing neceſſary to make a maſter underſtand his plan; without affronting his ſkill, by troubling him

with ſuperfluous and impertinent directions, in things, where, no man of art will need any.

A painter, then, who has read over the deſcription, and ſets about to draw; will have obſerved, the ſeveral groupes are mentioned, for the most part, as aſcending, onwards, gradually, one after another. he will, of courſe, then, take a TABULA of greater length than breadth; turning the long ſide up. and, as the main ground of the picture is a circle, projected between the ſides of the Table; he will, for the ſame reaſon, cast the length of his oval projection upwards; and, not on the level. but, yet, as there is to be a groupe, on the outſide of this oval, aſcending, between it and the ſide of the table; he will not make the ſweep of this incloſure project, exactly, up and down;

ſo, as, to meet the under ſide of the table, just, in the middle; for, that would leave TWO outſide ſpaces, both of equal room; tho', one of them was, only, to be filled with figures; the other, to have nothing on it, at all. he will, therefore, without heſitation, ſweep the bulge of his oval, mainly, to one hand; that, he may throw his outſide-room, all, into one, upon the other ſide; on which to place his outer groupe. he will obſerve, too, here, another part of his employer's meaning; and ſee, that, Cebes gains, by this, a further advantage, to the diſpoſition of his picture. for, thus, his outer groupe will, afterwards, be balanced, as it were, by one of thoſe within; preſerving, to the eye, a proper equilibrium of arrangement. which hand to leave this room at; is a thing, almost, indifferent. a ſmall cir-

cumstance is enough to determine it. he will, readily, leave it on the left; that, the progreſs of the figures, within the first and greatest incloſure, may be, in the natural order; or, from left to right.

Thus far Cebes gives no directions; judging, very justly, as I think, that, they would be quite ſuperfluous, to any master.

The painter, now, muſt, next, mark out the gate of this incloſure. and, he will find, that, Cebes has directed him, exactly, to place it, AT a little distance from the meeting of the oval and the upright ſide of the table, on the left; ſo, as, only to leave, beyond the gate, a proper ſpace for the figure of Deception; who, he will ſee, ſits at the gate-ſide, to the left of all. for, the line of the croud, who are to enter, is deſcribed as going upwards;

the genius, toward the upper end of it; on the farther ſide, or, to the right; and, the path of this croud, in the ſpace between the foremoſt of them and Deception, is painted, as, going on thence, in a ſtraight line, to her ſeat, at the ſide of the gate. θρόνον, παρὰ τὴν πύλην, καὶ τὸν τόπον, καθ' ὃν εἰσπορεύεσθαι ὁ ὄχλος. theſe words, expreſsly, mark, too, that, there is to be ſome distance, between the ſeat of Deception, and the foremoſt of the croud. it is a mistake, then, without foundation, to ſuppoſe, that, any of them are repreſented, in the picture, as DRINKING out of her cup. for, that is, only, narrated, not painted. it is another ſuch mistake, to ſuppoſe, that, any of them are painted as HAVING drunk; and, actually, now, entering at the gate. in the proper, and direct, deſcription, of this

part of the picture, they are, expreſsly, called οἱ μέλλοντες εἰσπορεύεσθαι, not οἱ εἰσπορεύομενοι; that ſhorter appellation is, only, uſed, afterwards, for brevity; but, its meaning, is, distinctly, told, before; and cannot be mistaken. this will appear, again, as evidently, from another part of the deſcription; when we come, by and by, to the figures within the gate.

But, further, the painter will, readily, perceive, here; that, Cebes; as he does not, at all, mention any particular action, motion, or gesture, expreſſed by the painting, in any individual of this groupe; ſo, he has given it a diſpoſition, in which, little, or nothing, of that kind, was to be expected; or, could, well, be expreſſed. for, as their poſition is aſcending; and the Genius stands, on the farther ſide, towards the upper end, in the attitude of one giv-

ing them directions; γέρων------ἔμφασιν ἐποίει, ὡς προστάττων τι τῷ εἰσιόντι ὄχλῳ; he must, of consequence, be painted, with his face, and posture, almost fully fronting the spectator; to whom, therefore, on the contrary, the croud must have their backs turned. thus is the eye no way perplexed, nor the attention distracted, by any variety of particulars, in this groupe. the only thing, which we attend to, here, is; first, their connexion with the genius; this is the one, simple, general, action of the groupe; and, after that, the direction of the path they stand on; as leading, in a straight line, to the seat of Deception. this path, too, is a hint, sufficient to a painter, that, the multitude of this groupe is, chiefly, to be expressed, by the length of path they take up; ascending, from the bottom of the table,

to near the gate; and, the figure of his outſide corner-ground is direction enough, to make the croud come thickeſt, from the bottom; but, tapering, ſoon; and, ending, almoſt, in a ſingle row.

This kind of groupe, where the whole are, only, repreſented together, in one action; is the moſt ſimple of ſeveral kinds we meet with in the picture. the next to it, in ſimplicity, are thoſe; in which, the character of ALL is expreſſed, by the dreſs, air, and attitudes, of a few in the front; and, the rest are thrown behind theſe; as, all, of the ſame kind. one of this kind meets us, immediately, when we enter the gate. the deſcriber points to it, thus. 'don't you ſee, there, within the 'gate, a croud of women, in various har-'lot-forms, of every country? I ſee them. 'οὐχ ὁρᾷς; ὁρῶ. theſe, now, are called o-

'PINIONS; and. APPETITES; and, 'PLEASURES.' ſo far the painting; and no farther. and, from theſe three names mentioned, the painter, I think, would, readily, propoſe to sketch this groupe with, only, three in front; and, throw the rest behind. but, he would not propoſe to ſpecify individuals, here; by ſuch particular. differencing, characteristics, as, the ſpectator was, from thence, to know, that; this was ſuch an APPETITE; and, that, ſuch an OPINION. for, Cebes, only, mentions them, in general; and, in the PLURAL number; οἱ μὲν,-οἱδὲ,-οἱδὲ. he does not point the wand, here; nor, call ὁρᾷς. if a painter did fall into this mistake, at first; and, put in ſuch characteristics, here; he would. ſoon, rub them out again; when he ſaw, plainly, afterwards; that, wherever Cebes meant to

have ſuch a particular diſtinction of individuals; he took all care to mark them out, himſelf, exactly. thus, in the Den of PUNISHMENT; this woman, here, ſays he, WHO HOLDS THE WHIP, is PUNISHMENT; that, WITH HER HEAD UPON HER KNEES, is SORROW; the third, WHO TEARS HER HAIR, is ANGUISH; and, that ill-favoured fellow, standing by them, ſo meagre, and ſo naked; with a woman, ſuch another as himſelf, ugly, and lank, and vile; his name is LAMENTATION; and her's, the ſiſter of him, is DESPAIR. ſo exact is Cebes, when he intends attention to individuals. nay, farther, I may almoſt ſay, that, a good painter would, even, be aſhamed of the miſtake I mention; as ſoon, as, he found, that, Cebes, by avoiding ſuch diſtinction, in groupes

like this; was at liberty, to introduce, again, ſome of the ſame kind, in another place; and, can well ſay, αὗται ἐκεῖναι; where, to have ſaid αὕτη ἐκεῖνη, would be a groſs abſurdity; that is, had a particular name, and characteriſtic, been appropriated to an individual. our painter, after this, I think, will check himſelf; nor venture, for the future, upon improvements of his own; as, now, convinced, that, Cebes was too nice a maſter, at the compoſition of a grand deſign in painting, to leave room for any material variations from his deſcription; and, that, he has left nothing, for the painter, but the honour of entering exactly into the fine ideas of his employer.

The Deſcriber, having pointed out this groupe, as it appeared in the picture, goes on, to narrate, what, further, was

neceſſary to be known of them. to NARRATE it; becauſe the painting could expreſs no more, without the confuſion of a diſorderly multiplicity. obſerve, how well the very words, with which he begins it, diſtinguiſh the narration from the painting. 'WHENEVER, then, ſays he, the 'croud enters; theſe women fly to each 'of them; careſs them; twine about them; 'and, AT LENGTH, lead them off. 'WHENEVER, then, or, WHEN AT 'ANY TIME, they enter. ὅταν, ἤν, εἰσ-'πορεύηται; and, AT LENGTH, lead 'them off; EITA ἀπάγωσι.' this is not the language of one pointing to what is painted before our eyes. here, is no ὁρᾶτε; no ſuch words, as, you SEE the croud entering; you SEE the women flying to each of them; you SEE how they careſs, and twine about them. what a

wretched confuſion had it made, indeed, to paint theſe women, thus, engaging every ſingle individual of a croud; for, that is the thing ſaid here; ὅταν ἓν ὁ ΟΧΛΟΣ εἰσπορεύηται,----πλέκονται πρὸς ἙΚΑΣΤΟΝ. nay, it is, utterly, impoſſible, at any rate, in one piece; to repreſent, by painting, that, they, FIRST, twine round, and, AT LENGTH, carry off, the ſame perſon; ἘΙΤΑ ἀπάγωσι. but, Cebes takes a finer, and more masterly, way; not, inconſiſtently, propoſing to have all theſe actions painted; he ſhows, only, in the picture, the reſult of all; expreſſed, by the figures of ſome individuals; who had, FORMERLY, entered, and, FORMERLY, met with all theſe temptations; and, NOW, in conſequence of them, are straying about, at random; each, under the conduct of one of the women. and, ſo, the

deſcriber, having finiſhed the narrative part, the rest of which I need not inſert, returns to the picture; and, gives notice of his return, by the uſual words, with which he points the wand.—— 'They 'wander, ſays he, at random; EVEN, as, 'you SEE THOSE, who entered FOR-'MERLY; ὥσπερ ὁρᾷς καὶ τὰς πρότε-'ρον εἰσπορευομένας, HOW they are led 'about; wherever theſe women direct 'them. I ſee this, ſaid I. ὁρῶ τοῦτο.' the painter, too, will ſee, here, that, there need not be MANY of theſe couples, to repreſent ALL that Cebes has deſigned them for; and, that, he is left to diſpoſe them, himſelf, according to the common rules of art. that is, to fill up, properly, with ſome, the little vacant ſpace of the first incloſure; from the gate, to the left ſide of the table; and, by the rest,

connect this groupe, with that which follows next; of Fortune, and, her followers. to which the Dialogue goes on; thus.

'I ſee this, ſaid I. but, tell me, who 'is that woman, there; ſhe, who ſeems 'to be blind, and frantic; and, is standing, on a round ſtone? her name, ſaid 'he, is FORTUNE.' this ends the picture, then he NARRATES; immediately ſubjoining,---- 'and ſhe is, not only, 'blind, and frantic; but, alſo, deaf.' theſe are the words of Cebes. and, is not their meaning, plainly, this? 'the picture ſhows, 'that, ſhe is blind and frantic; but, painting cannot ſhow that ſhe is deaf. of 'this, I must inform you, by Narration; 'as, I must, likewiſe, of the rest of her 'character; which the picture cannot re-'preſent, here, otherwiſe, than, by an

'emblem.' the Narration is continued, by the ſpectator's asking, 'What, then, is her 'employment? ἄυτη ὧν τί ἔργον ἔχει;' I mentioned that, before; and, ſhall go on to the groupe of her followers.

'But, this croud, ſaid I, this nume-'rous croud, ſtanding round her; what 'means it? and how do you call them? 'theſe are called the UNADVISED; and 'are begging, each, the things ſhe throws 'away. How comes it, then, they look 'not, all, alike; but, ſome appear rejoi-'cing; others, dejected, ſtretching forth 'their hands? thoſe, of them, ſaid he, 'who appear joyful, and ſmiling, are they 'who have received ſomething from For-'tune; and, therefore, call her GOOD-'FORTUNE. but, thoſe, who ſeem to 'weep, and ſtretch their hands forth, are 'they, from whom, ſhe, now, has ſnatch-

'ed away what ſhe had given them, for-
'merly; theſe, again, call her ILL-FOR-
'TUNE.' thus far, the picture; in this, which is, by much, the largest groupe of all. and, the painter will obſerve, that, Cebes has, accordingly, aſſigned it the most ſpacious enlightened part of the first incloſure. for, to leave room for the figures which follow next; both, above; and, at one ſide, in the ſhade; he will find, this groupe falls, naturally, into the lower part of the bulge of his oval; where, conſequently, the illuminated part of this incloſure is deepest; and, by that means, as I mentioned before, will, beſides, make a kind of counterpoiſe, to the broadest part of the groupe, on the outſide. he will ſee, too, that, he is to expreſs joy, and ſorrow, each, in ſeveral of the figures; and, that, this expreſſion, is, almost all,

left to his own diſcretion; as being a common ſubject of the painter's art; and, that, he is to expreſs it, chiefly, in thoſe figures, of the groupe, which are in the middle; or, next to Fortune; as the perſons, whom ſhe has, laſt, been giving to, and, taking from.

The Narrative part, relating to this groupe, begins, by the ſpectator's asking, what are the things ſhe gives and takes? and, as it was like to draw to too great a length, by his curioſity, and repeated questions; the deſcriber breaks it off, thus. 'We ſhall have occaſion to mention thoſe 'things, again. at preſent, let us mind the 'picture.' ſo, pointing with his wand, he begins; by his uſual word of warning, ὁρᾷς. 'You ſee, ſays he, after you have 'paſſed this gate, another upper inclo-'ſure, beyond; ἀνώτερον. you ſee, alſo,

'women, STANDING, ἑστηκυίας, on the 'outſide of that other incloſure; dreſſed 'out as Courtezans, uſually, are? I ſee 'them very well. theſe now, are; one 'of them, called, DEBAUCH; another, 'PROFLIGACY; another, GLUT-'TONY; another, ADULATION. 'Why, then, are they ſtanding here? 'ἑστήκασιν; they are watching, παρατη-'ρῶσι, for thoſe who have got any thing 'from Fortune.'

Here ends the deſcription of the painting. the reſt goes on, by Narration, thus.

'Well, what happens then? εἶτα, τί; 'they fly to them; embrace, and flatter, 'them.' I need not repeat what I ſaid, formerly; on the groupe, of the APPETITES, and, OPINIONS. this Narration, like that before, goes on, in words;

which evidence, beyond all contradiction, it is Narration only. 'they flatter 'them, ſays he; and ask the men to ſtay 'with them; and promiſe, they ſhall have 'a life of pleaſure; without any pain, or, 'mixture of uneaſineſs.' to ASK, and, to PROMISE; and, they SHALL have; cannot, ſure, be PAINTED, in figures who are STANDING STILL; ἐφήκυιας· and, waiting, till the men SHALL come; παρατηρῶσι· and, far leſs, that which follows. 'IF, then, ANY one 'HAPPENS, ἐάν τίς· happens to be al-'lured, by them, to enter in to LUXU-'RY; he thinks, indeed, for SOME time, 'μέχρι τινος, his ſtay, with her, agree-'able.' can any one imagine, ſuch words, expreſſing, first, contingency, and, then, continuance of time, are the language of a man pointing to figures in a picture;

IF, then, ANY ONE, HAPPENS TO BE and, FOR SOME TIME, INDEED; and, just ſo, what follows; 'but, AFTER-'WARDS, EITA·' and, 'WHENEVER 'HE COMES TO HIMSELF, AGAIN;' 'ὅταν ἀνανήψῃ· it is not ſo.' theſe are, I think, as were the former, the ſtrongeſt proofs of the diſtinction I maintain, between the ſeveral ſcenes, in the picture, and the intermediate narrations; as, in an Epic Poem. Luxury is, indeed, a perſon, here; a perſon, in the Narration; but, by no means, a perſon of the Picture. and, only, ſuch a perſon is, by and by, MISERY; and, afterwards, REPENTANCE, and, her TWO OPINIONS.

He goes on, to narrate all the crimes, and miſeries, theſe men will fall into; till Vengeance overtakes them, at laſt. and, this makes the tranſition, to the next part

of the picture. 'at last, ſays he, when 'every wicked ſhift has failed, they are 'delivered up to PUNISHMENT.'

'And who is ſhe, pray?' obſerve, now, the word of notice, when the wand extends. 'ὁρᾷς——you ſee, there, 'just a little behind the women, ſome-'thing, like a kind of wicket; and, a 'kind of narrow, gloomy, place. I do 'you ſee, alſo, ſome women, there, in 'company, together; ugly, ſordid, and, 'in rags. yes, I ſee them. theſe, then, ſaid 'he; ſhe, with the whip, is PUNISH-'MENT; ſhe, with her head upon her 'knees, is SORROW; the third, who 'tears her hair, is ANGUISH; and, that 'ill-favoured fellow, standing by them, 'ſo meagre, and ſo naked; with a wo-'man, ſuch another as himſelf; ugly, and 'lank, and vile; his name is LAMEN-

'TATION; and, her's, the ſiſter of him,
'is DESPAIR.' here, the picture ends;
and, then, comes, again, the narration.

'To theſe HE is delivered.' HE, that
is, as was narrated before, ANY ONE
who has been allured in to Luxury. 'to
'theſe he is delivered; and lives, with
'them, in torment; and, after that, is, a-
'gain, caſt into another place, the HOUSE
'of MISERY; and, there, he dwells, for
'all his future life, in utter wretchedneſs.'

Here, is another PERSON, and her
HOUSE; but, both, in the narration, only;
not, in the picture; we find no point-
ing out; no word of notice, to the ſpec-
tator, to obſerve them there. ſuch, like-
wiſe, is the perſon, mentioned next, RE-
PENTANCE; and, her TWO OPINI-
ONS. 'he dwells, for all his future life,
'in utter wretchedneſs; except, REPEN-

'TANCE, in her way from Fortune, hap-
'pen to meet with him. ἐὰν μὴ συναντήσῃ.' theſe words, and thoſe which follow next, demonſtrate this to be narration only. 'well, IF ſhe does, what hap-
'pens? εἶτα, τί γίγνεται; IF ſhe HAP-
'PEN to meet with him, ἐὰν συναντήσῃ,
'ſhe delivers him from his miſeries; and,
'preſents him with TWO NEW OPINI-
'ONS; one, leading to Education; the
'other, to Falſe-education. Well, what
'happens, AFTER THAT? εἶτα τί γίγ-
'νεται; IF he chuſe the former, he be-
'comes a happy man; but, IF the latter,
'he is again led aſtray, by Falſe-educa-
'tion.' this makes a tranſition, to the entry of the ſecond incloſure; at which, Falſe-education ſtands.

But, let us, firſt, conſider the directions given the painter, how to place

the PASSIONS, and, PUNISHMENT, with her CREW. when he read over the deſcription, at first, before he began to draw; he would ſee, that, his LIGHT, for the whole piece, comes, in one great maſs, from a meadow, at the uppermost part of the ſecond incloſure. τόπος---καλός, τε, καὶ ΛΕΙΜΩΝΟΕΙΔΗΣ· καὶ, φωτὶ ΠΟΛΛΩ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΜΠΟΜΕΝΟΣ, this light, then, in deſcending, must come down aslope, towards the right hand; and, the ſhade, upon the ground of the first and lowest incloſure, will be most extenſive, in that part, where, the wall of the ſecond is highest, in the perſpective; that is, WHERE, the bulge of that wall turns off, to the right. THERE, then, he finds, he is directed to place the DARK abode of PUNISHMENT. now, this abode, again, is to be, just a little, behind the PAS-

SIONS. ὀπίσω, τι, αὐτῶν. the Paſſions, therefore, are to be placed, upon the left, and luminous, ſide of the ſame bulge; which is, of courſe, the most remarkable part of that wall; and, would, first, strike the eye of a ſpectator, when deſired to look at the ſecond incloſure. and, this is the meaning of Cebes, in theſe words; 'You ſee, ſays the deſcriber, when you 'have paſſed this first gate, another in-'cloſure, ABOVE; and, women, on the 'OUT-SIDE of it.' this, then, is, exactly, the PLACE of the Paſſions. and, as they are STANDING; on the watch, for the men who receive the GIFTS of FORTUNE; they must front HER. and, as ſhe stands to the left; the ſpectator, when his eye is on them, will ſee them in profile, mostly; extending downwards, from near the ſecond wall; ἔξω τῦ περιβόλυ.

they are not called a croud, or, πλῆθος· only, γυναίκας ἑςηκυίας; ſome women, ſtanding. ſo, there need not be a multitude of them. and, the character, or action, of the whole, will be repreſented in that of a few. Cebes mentions, only, four. the painter will obſerve, too, that, theſe, as the OPINIONS before, are to be without any ſpecific characteriſtics to individuals. for, ſome, of both kinds, are to appear, again, in the next incloſure. therefore, Cebes has marked no ſuch diſtinctions. which, he will plainly ſee, was by deſign; not, from omiſſion; ſince, he finds him ſo extremely exact, in thoſe, when he intends them; as, immediately, in the Place of Puniſhment, and, her Crew, in the rear of the Paſſions; where, all the five figures are, each, diſtinctly, and ſeverally, characteriſed.

After the PASSIONS, and this CREW in the rear, the painter will find, he has no more figures, in this incloſure; till he come to the gate of the next. for, we have ſeen, that, in the picture, there are no men, at all, along with the PASSIONS; nor, coming to them; nor, going from them; no figure of Luxury; nor, of her houſe; nor, of men entering in; nor, dwelling with her; nor, pleaſed, a while; nor, wretched, afterwards; nor, committing various crimes, fraud, rapine, plunder, bloodſhed; treaſon, perjury, and ſacrilege; nor, dragging to PUNISHMENT; nor, chaſtiſed, by her, or, her CREW; nor, caſt into the HOUSE of MISERY; nor, any figure of HER, or, of her HOUSE; nor, of REPENTANCE; nor, of MEN, meeting her, or, relieved by her; or, coming, from her, to Falſe-

education. all theſe are, manifestly, parts of the NARRATION, not, the picture.

The only remaining figure, within the first incloſure, is Falſe-education; who stands, by the gate of the ſecond, on the out-ſide. and, the painter will ſee, that, Cebes has diſpoſed all the foregoing, ſo well, as, just, to leave a proper place, for the full, and clear, appearance, of this the last figure. to wit, at the right hand of all; where, the outer, and inner, oval, turn up to the ſide of the table; coming nearer to each other; and, where, the perſpective-height of the two walls, being least, the ſhade, from the ſecond, will be ſhortest; and, thus, allow him room, to place this figure, fully in the light.

But, before we proceed to it; let us, just, give a glance, back, to the whole of

the painting within the first incloſure.

There is, then, first of all; the groupe, of the DESIRES, and, OPINIONS; just, within the first gate; fronting it, and, the eye, nearly; the action of the whole repreſented, chiefly, by the three foremoſt; with a few figures, in PAIRS, on each ſide of them.

Next to theſe, on the right; in the middle, or lower part, of the bulge; is FORTUNE, with the LARGE GROUPE ſurrounding; the figures, nearest her, in various attitudes; of Grief, and, Joy.

Then, a little higher, to the right, from near the ſecond wall; are, the PASSIONS; mostly, in profile; the character of all, expreſſed, chiefly, by the dreſs, air, and attitude, of four.

Lastly, In the rear of the Paſſions; that is, to the right, still, in the ſhade;

is the place of PUNISHMENT; where are five ſeveral figures; each, in a diſtinct, different, attitude.

If this account be juſt, then; every thing, hitherto, is eaſy, ſimple, and regular; free from all confuſion; or, perplexed multiplicity; but, beautiful; by an elegant variety, in the ſeveral groupes; each, different, in form, and poſition, from all the reſt; and, this difference ariſing, naturally, from the ſeveral parts of human life, which, according to the plan of the picture, they are introduced to repreſent.

Our Painter will, next, mark out the gate of the ſecond incloſure, where Cebes has directed it to be; that is, juſt, ſo far, from the right-hand ſide of the table, as, to leave proper room, for Falſe-education; who, he will ſee, is to ſtand, hard

by the far ſide of this gate; that, ſo, her face may be full to the former groupes; as one ready, to receive thoſe who may arrive from thence; and, conduct them, thro' the gate, which is before her. for, thus the Deſcriber points her out, in the picture.

'Οὐχ' ὁρᾷς, don't you ſee, ſays he, 'that other incloſure? Yes, very well. Don't 'you ſee, then, without the incloſure, by 'the gate, a woman standing; of a migh-'ty neat, and, orderly, appearance? I ſee 'her very well. Her, now, the bulk of 'mankind, who judge at random, call 'EDUCATION. ſhe IS NOT, tho'; but, 'FALSE-EDUCATION. yet, thoſe who 'eſcape the wreck of fortune, WHEN-'EVER they want to go to true EDU-'CATION, come hither first.' WHEN-EVER they want, 'ΟΠΟΤΑΝ βούλωνται.

the expreſſion, plainly, ſhows, there are none, actually, in the picture, repreſented, as COMING HITHER; and, that, THIS is, only, NARRATED.

Then, the ſpectator, looking forward, within the gate, asks. 'And thoſe men, 'ſays he, who are walking up and down 'within the incloſure, what are they?---- 'The LOVERS of FALSE-EDUCATION; 'deceived, and, fancying themſelves in 'company with true EDUCATION.---And, 'how are they called?---Some of them, 'Poets; ſome, Orators; ſome, Reaſoners; 'ſome, Muſicians; ſome, Arithmeticians; 'ſome, Geometers; ſome, Aſtronomers. 'And, all others, who are of a like kind 'to theſe.'

To explain which laſt words, ſome very ſilly ſciolist has made a wretched interpolation; of Epicureans, Peripate-

tics, and Critics; being ſo ignorant, as, not to know, that, Cebes, as he tells, expreſly, and, immediately, after this, means, here, τὰ γράμματα, and τὰ μαθήματα; and gives a complete enumeration of them, according to the common diviſion of the ancients; which we know, from a thouſand examples; nay, he has been ſtupid enough not to perceive, that, what he adds of his own could have no place, at all, in any regular diviſion. not to mention, that, his terms were not, yet, in uſe, in the time of Cebes.

This little dialogue is botched, in ſome other places, by the ſame vile hands; and has met with the ſame treatment as many of the beſt old books now left; when, in a barbarous age, thoſe reptiles were allowed to crawl, at will, through many of the finest monuments of antiquity;

and, like true Vermin, have never failed to leave groſs marks of their foul track, behind them; which are, now, like other dirt, ſo hardened, by length of time, that, it is, oft-times difficult, ſometimes impoſſible, to take it off, without endangering the original materials.

But, to return. none of theſe Votaries of FALSE-EDUCATION are to be diſtinguiſhed by particular emblems. for, none are mentioned. nor, even, any one of the figures deſcribed, at all, by itſelf. they are, only, mentioned, in the plural number; οἱ μὲν,---οἱ δὲ,---οἱ δὲ; as were, before, the PASSIONS, and, OPINIONS.

Some, of the PASSIONS, and, OPINIONS, are, alſo, in this part of the ſecond incloſure; running about, ſingly, near the votaries of FALSE-EDUCATION. which, the ſpectator, of himſelf, ob-

ſerving, inquires about them, thus. 'But, 'thoſe women, there, who ſeem running 'about; and, appear to be of a like kind 'with thoſe former, among whom, you 'told me, was DEBAUCH; and, thoſe 'OTHERS, along with them; who are 'they? the very ſame, ſaid he.—What? 'and do they enter, here, too? Ay, that 'they do; even, here; ſome few, at least, 'get in; but, not avowedly, as, in the firſt 'incloſure. ΣΠΑΝΙΩΣ, δὲ· καὶ, οὐχὶ ὥςπερ 'ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ.—And, do the 'Opinions, too? They do.'

The painter will ſee, that, Cebes has left him to drop in theſe ſingle figures, of the PASSIONS, and, OPINIONS, in the void ſpaces, about the gate, on both ſides, near the men. he will find all this, I believe, plain enough; as he will, alſo, that, what follows, next, in the dialogue,

is a NARRATION of the mistaken condition theſe men remain in; while they don't advance, yet higher; and, ſeek the road which leads to TRUE EDUCATION. the mention of this road makes the tranſition to the next part of the painting; when the ſpectator asks, what kind of road that is. the Deſcriber points up, along the courſe of the ſecond incloſure, which is upward, to the left hand, from the gate; and begins, as uſual, with ὁρᾷς. 'you ſee, ſays he, as you go upwards, 'ἄνω; a ſpot, there, uninhabited; and, like 'a wild? I ſee it. don't you ſee, then, alſo, 'a ſmall gate; and, a road going from 'it; not much frequented, and, but ex-'tremely few travellers upon it; as, being 'hard to paſs, and rough, and rocky. I 'ſee it very well. Don't you ſee, then, alſo, 'a high hill, there; and, a path up, ex-

'tremely narrow; with steep precipices,
'on both ſides? I ſee. This, now, is the
'road, ſaid he, which leads to TRUE
'EDUCATION. and, a very difficult
'road it is, ſaid I; at least, to look at.'

That part of the road, here, which goes thorough the wild, the painter will obſerve, is minutely deſcribed; which, beſides the MORAL, is to distinguiſh it from ſome other places, on the ſame wild, mentioned afterwards; and, on which, ſome figures are to be repreſented, as returning back.

It is, alſo, particularly, to be obſerved, here; that, after we paſs this wild, there are no more figures of MEN, at all, in any part, whatever, thoroughout the reſt of the picture. to this, I ſay, we ought, carefully, to attend. we ſhall find it very distinctly marked by Cebes.

The painter, obſerving this, will find himſelf ſufficiently guided, (as I ſhall ſhow afterwards,) by the common rules, of perſpective, and, of light and ſhade; in ſketching out the hill, and, its aſcent; the rock, on the top; and, the plain level road, from it, to the meadow, and, thence, to the third incloſure. to all which the deſcription, now, proceeds, thus; beginning, again, as, always, with ὁρᾷς.

'Don't you ſee, alſo, above this, a-'gain, over-hanging the hill, a large high 'rock; whoſe ſides, not ſloping, but ab-'rupt, fall in a craggy precipice around? 'I ſee. You ſee, then, likewiſe, two wo-'men, ſtanding, there, upon the rock; of 'a buxom, healthy, look; and, how they 'reach their hands forth, chearfully? I 'ſee them. but, who are they? The one 'is SELF-COMMAND; the other, PER-

'SEVERANCE; and, they are ſiſters.' Then, follows a NARRATION; of their character, and, what they do, WHEN any men approach the rock. I ſay, WHEN; for, there are none, actually, painted; as is manifeſt, from the next following words of the dialogue.

'Why have they, then, their hands, 'ſaid I, thus chearfully held forth? they 'exhort, ſaid he, thoſe who arrive at the 'place, to be of good courage; and, not 'let their hearts fail them; declaring, they 'have but a ſhort while, longer, to per-'ſevere; and, then, will come to a fair, 'eaſy, road. Whenever, then, they arrive 'at the rock;' obſerve the word WHENEVER, or, WHEN AT ANY TIME, ὅταν, ἤν, παραγένωνται; a manifeſt criterion of narration. 'Whenever, then, they 'arrive at the rock; how do they mount,

'ſaid I; for, I ſee no path, up. the ſis-
'ters, ſaid he, come down the precipice,
'and pull them up.' What follows, is, again, ſelf-evidently, narrative. 'after this, 'they bid them reſt, a little; and, draw 'breath. then, by and by, they give them 'ſtrength, and, courage; and promiſe, 'they will ſet them on the way to TRUE 'EDUCATION; and, they ſhew them 'the road; how fair it is, and plain, and 'eaſy to the traveller, and clear of all 'inconveniency.' then, follows the tranſition to the picture, again; by the wand, accompany'd with its uſual watch-word; 'ὥσπερ ὁρᾷς, as you ſee. it appears ſo, in-'deed, ſaid I. you ſee, then, likewiſe, ſaid 'he, before that grove, there, a lovely 'ſpot of meadow-ground; illuminated, all 'over, with a bright ſhining light? I ſee 'it well. You ſee, then, alſo, diſtinctly,

'in the middle of the meadow, another 'incloſure; and, another gate? There are 'ſo. but, what is this place called? The 'Manſion of the happy, ſaid he; for, 'here dwell all the Virtues; and, here 'dwells Happineſs. ha! ſaid I, a glorious 'place, indeed!'

Let us make a ſhort ſtop, here; to reflect, a little, how finely Cebes has diverſified his picture; with, almost, all the poſſible variety of landſcape! with hill, and dale; rock, and precipice; a wild, a meadow, and a wood; all interſperſed, at proper distances, with rural architecture of the ſeveral gates, doors, and, incloſures. while, again, the most elegant part of all, the third incloſure, in the meadow, is adorned, as we ſhall ſee, with a lofty dome, and, a magnificent court. then, the bright light, diffuſed all over

the meadow, will give the painter opportunity to diſplay his genius, exhaust his art, and employ every tint of his pencil; in expreſſing all the beauties of variegated colours; all the gradations of light and ſhadow; throughout the grove, behind; which bounds the whole of the picture, to the upper or farther end; and terminates the proſpect, in a manner the most delightful to the eye.

The introduction of this light, ſo advantageous to the painter, is, at the ſame time, with perfect propriety to the Moral; as was the ſhade, before, in the PLACE OF PUNISHMENT; light and darkneſs being the known emblems of happineſs and miſery. Virgil has, alſo, given the ſame peculiar light to his Elyſium of the bleſſed; the deſcription of which, in ſeveral other parts, is the ſame,

indeed, as this of Cebes. a staunch critic would not ſcruple to pronounce them direct imitations; and, knowing that Virgil was an admirer of the Socratic philoſophy, would, immediately, conclude, from them, that he had been particularly fond of Cebes; and, probably, add; that, the poet, even, carried this fondneſs ſo far as to give the name of Cebes to a favourite youth. this inference would, indeed, be ſanguine; tho' the fact is true; at least reported ſo, by Donatus and Servius.---*Virgilius, inter omnes, maxime dilexit Cebetem--puerum.* But, there are, however, in Virgil, just as in Cebes; the Aſcent of the hill; the plain eaſy road, from thence; the green meadow; the grove; the remarkable light; the garland, which crowns the happy; and, the chorus, with a chief or Coryphaeus;

(theſe last we ſhall ſee in Cebes preſently.) in Virgil, they are thus. first, the Aſcent of the Hill, and the Road, thence; in theſe lines.

'HOC SUPERATE JUGUM, ET FACILI
'JAM TRANSITE SISTAM.
—'CAMPOSQUE NITENTES
'DESUPER OSTENTAT.

The Green Meadow, and the Grove;

—'AMOENA VIRETA
'FORTUNATORUM NEMORUM.

The Light;

'LARGIOR, HIC, CAMPOS, AETHER, ET
'LUMINE VESTIT
'PURPUREO; SOLEMQUE SUUM, SUA SI-
'DERA NORUNT.

The Garland of the happy;

OMNIBUS HIS NIVEA CINGUNTUR TEMPORA VITTA.

The Chorus;

.....LAETUMQUE CHORO PAEANA CA-

NENTES.

Their Chief, or Coryphaeus;

MUSAEUM, ANTE OMNES; MEDIUM NAM PLURIMA TURBA
HUNC HABET, ATQUE HUMERIS EXTANTEM SUSPICIT ALTIS.

But, of this peculiar light, Cebes makes, yet, a farther, and an admirable, advantage; with a true master-taste, in painting. for, the figures, yet remaining to be painted, are the finest, and, most interesting of all; but, neceſſarily, the farthest distant from the eye; and, from that circumstance, must have appeared, according to the laws of perſpective, dim, faint, and indistinct; both, in lineament, and colour; had the chief light been any where elſe. whereas, by falling, here, among them, in one great maſs; the painter finds, with pleaſure, that, without deviating

from any rule, he is, now, at full liberty, to diſplay the whole power of painting, in theſe his principal figures; and, give them, all the grace, and dignity, in feature, lineament, and air; and, every charm of beautiful expreſſion; that, colouring, or, drawing, can beſtow. here, then, he will exert his genius, to the utmoſt; and put in practice all the wonders of his art; to prove himſelf a maſter worthy to be employed by Cebes; for whoſe fine taſte, he will, by this time, I imagine, be full of eſteem and veneration.

The Deſcriber goes on to the entry of the third incloſure, thus.

'Don't you ſee, there, ſays he, by the 'ſide of the gate, a woman, of a comely 'figure; with a graceful compoſure, in 'her countenance; her age, that middle,

'and ſtationary, time of life, which con-
'tinues, long, the ſame, before decline
'approach. no artificial trimming, on
'her dreſs; all is quite plain and ſimple;
'and, ſhe ſtands, upon a ſtone, not round,
'but ſquare, and firmly ſet. along with
'her are two others, who look like her
'daughters? They do ſo. Of theſe, then;
'ſhe, in the middle, is EDUCATION;
'ſhe, on the one hand, TRUTH; ſhe, on
'the other, PERSUASION.' thus the pic-
ture. where, as we ſee, theſe two daugh-
ters have no diſtinguiſhing marks, to dif-
ference them from each other. it is not,
even, ſaid, which is on the one, or, other,
hand of EDUCATION. then follows a
narration, as uſual, of HER character;
which the painting expreſſes, only, by
her emblem of the ſquare ſtone; and, of
what ſhe gives men, WHEN they come

to her. Ineed not repeat, again, the ſeveral marks of narration, as we meet them here. the very word, which begins the tranſition to the picture, ſhows it abundantly. 'And, AFTER ſhe HAS puri-'fied him, ſays the ſpectator, where is it 'ſhe ſends him? ὅταν ἔν.' which words mean, 'WHEN, AT ANY TIME, ſhe 'has purified a man, where is it ſhe ſends 'him? In, ſaid he, to KNOWLEDGE, and 'the rest of the Virtues. and, who are 'theſe?' then comes the picture. 'ἔχ ὁρᾷς. 'don't you SEE, ſaid he, within the gate, 'a CHORUS of women? how graceful 'their form; how full of modesty their 'looks; their dreſs, entirely plain. no 'art; no glittering ornaments, no gaudy 'ſhow, nor finery, about them. no stu-'died postures of addreſs; no affectation, 'in their looks, or gesture, like thoſe you

'ſaw before. I ſee ſo, ſaid I; but, tell me, 'what do you call them? The first of 'them, ſaid he, is called KNOWLEDGE; 'the rest, who are her ſisters, MANHOOD, 'JUSTICE, BENEVOLENT-HONOUR, 'TEMPERANCE, ORDER, LIBERTY, 'SELF-COMMAND, MEEKNESS. Fair 'names, indeed, ſaid I.'

Here ends the deſcription of the Virtues, as they appear in the picture. he calls them, not a croud, or a company, as formerly; but, a CHORUS, of NINE, all named; and Knowledge at their head, as the CORYPHAEUS of the CHORUS. this, to an antient painter, was, as I believe, a hint ſufficient, how to groupe them. they are to have no emblematical distinctions. all ſuch would but distract the ſpectator's attention. Cebes has mentioned none. there is no man, among

them, nor approaching. it is, only, NARRATED, what the Virtues do, when, AT ANY TIME, One SHALL HAVE come. thus. 'Whenever, then, ſaid I, at any 'time, they ſhall have received a man; ὅ-'ταν, ἕν, παραλάβωσι· where do they 'carry him? to their mother, ſaid he. 'Who is ſhe? HAPPINESS. And what is 'HER character.'

Then, the Deſcriber, lifting up his wand; and, with his uſual word, ὁρᾷς; 'You ſee, ſaid he, that road, there; lead-'ing to yonder lofty dome, which is the 'citadel of all the incloſures. I ſee it. 'don't you, then, ſee, ſaid he, where, in 'the court, before the gate; a woman, 'of a compoſed aſpect, and graceful form, 'ſits on a throne; dreſſed, with a free be-'coming negligence, too noble to ſtoop 'to nicety; and, beautifully crowned,

'with a fair garland of the loveliest flow-
'ers? She does, indeed, appear ſo. This,
'now, is HAPPINESS.'

Here ends the whole deſcription of the third incloſure. the words, which follow next, are, only, a NARRATION; and indeed, ſelf-evidently ſo, beyond all contradiction. 'Whenever, then, ſaid I;
'or, when at ANY time, ANY man
'ſhall have arrived here; ὅταν, ἦν, ὧδε
'τις παραγένηται· What is it ſhe does?
'She crowns him, with her garland; ſhe
'and all the Virtues; like thoſe who have
'conquered in the Olympic Games.'

What I tranſlate the CITADEL, and the COURT before it, are, in the Greek, ἡ ἀκρόπολις, and, τὸ προπύλαιον; words, which, eſpecially when together, as they are here, conveyed, to an Athenian ear, the highest ideas, of all that is most beau-

tiful, and exquiſite, in imitative art; the last joint efforts, of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, united; as we ſee, from the remains of ſeveral Historians; as well, as, from what Plutarch has related, at large, in the Life of Pericles. the painter, then, must be warned, to execute every thing, here, in the true, grand, ſimple taste; that the manſion may be, every way, ſuitable to the dignity of its Miſtreſs.

But, he will, of himſelf, obſerve; that, to have the proper room, for this dome, and court; and, for Happineſs, and the Chorus of the Virtues; and, that, theſe, his principal figures, may appear full on the eye; as, according to the Rules of Art, they ought; he must range them, the long of way that oval projection, which forms the third incloſure; going up, ſuc-

ceſſively, from the bottom, to the top. The Gate, then, must be at the bottom; and, EDUCATION, with her two daughters, at the right ſide of it; that, they may, both, front the eye, nearly, and the road from the ROCK. and, as the Aſcent, up the hill, to the bottom of the ROCK, was from right to left; he knows, that, by another rule of painting, the rock itſelf must be ſo placed, as, the ſhadow of it may be quite out of the picture; and therefore, to the left of all. for, otherwiſe, by the strong light, coming from above; a large, deep, ſhadow would be projected, downwards, from the rock; ſo as to cover, and obſcure, a great part of the first incloſure. the rock, then, must needs be to the left of all. and, therefore, the meadow must ſpread back to the right; and, the road to, and through,

it, must, alſo, wind the ſame way, on, to the Gate, at the under bulge of the third incloſure. the painter, too, will find, that, in the cavity, thus left, between the meadow and the hill, he can expreſs, more fully, the precipice upon the right hand of the steep aſcent. another part of perſpective, would, likewiſe, if need were, confirm him, that, the meadow must, of neceſſity, ſpread to the right, thus, from the rock. becauſe, it would be impoſſible to repreſent a large extent of plain ground, level with the top of the rock; and, continuing on, in the ſame direction with the Aſcent of the hill, up to the foot of the rock; that is, on, to the left.

From all theſe rules, then, he will ſee, that, the meaning of Cebes, here, is, perfectly, determined, and, preciſe.

There remains, now, in the dialogue,

only one part more of the picture, yet to deſcribed. it comes not in, with the reſt; but, by itſelf; after a pretty long Narration of the Happy ſtate the Man enjoys, who has been with the Virtues and their Mother.

'But, tell me, yet, this one thing more; 'ſays the Spectator; what men are theſe, 'who ſeem to have come from the hill, 'and, now, are travelling toward us. one 'ſet of them, with garlands on, expreſ- 'ſing a certain joy. the other, without 'garlands, their legs and heads bruiſed- 'like and ſore; and, certain women, in 'their company, who ſeem to fasten on 'them. The ſet, ſaid he, with garlands 'on, are thoſe who have arrived at the 'ſeat of HAPPINESS; and, been received 'by her. the ſet uncrowned, are thoſe 'ſhe has rejected; or thoſe, whoſe hearts

'have failed them, in their aſcent to PER-
'SEVERANCE; and, are, now, return-
'ing back, dejected, and unhappy. But,
'who, ſaid I, are thoſe women, along
'with them? SORROWS, ſaid he, and
'PAINS; DESPAIR; and INFAMY;
'and IGNORANCE.'

The dialogue, here, is, in ſome pla-ces, vitiated; but, yet, I think, our pain-ter will NOT be at a loſs. theſe figures come FROM the Hill; that is, they are upon the WILD. they are two quite op-poſite ſets. therefore, he will, readily, place them on the two oppoſite ſides, of the road before deſcribed, as, going through this wild; the crowned ſet, on the left ſide; becauſe of what follows. for, last of all, the ſpectator asks, again, a little after; 'but, ſays he, thoſe other 'women, coming this way; chearful, and

'ſmiling; who are they? OPINIONS,
'ſaid he; and, having introduced, to
'EDUCATION, thoſe men who have,
'from her, arrived at the VIRTUES,
'they are returning back; that, they may
'tell the news, how happy thoſe are,
'now, whom they led formerly.'

Theſe OPINIONS are deſcribed, apart, by themſelves, without any men. therefore, they will, naturally, be placed beyond the crowned ſet; on the ſame ſide of the road, at the bottom of the Hill; before the Aſcent begins, and, where it joins the Wild.

If we review this account of the ſecond and third incloſures; we find, in all, theſe figures.

First; the men of common learning, walking up and down, by the ſecond gate; as having no farther views. near

them, a few of the PASSIONS and OPINIONS, running about. from theſe a little wicket ſeparates an uninhabited WILD; with a rugged road, going through it, from the wicket; on which, ſome very few are travelling. to the right hand of this road, are, interſperſed through that ſide of the wild, ſome men, returning back; whoſe hearts had failed them; and, in their company, ſome of the ugliest PASSIONS. on the left hand of the road; ſome, of the HAPPY, are returning, CROWNED. behind them, at the bottom of the hill, ſome of the good OPINIONS; chearful, and ſmiling. after this, we find no men at all. the reſt are, only, Mythological Figures. to wit. on the ROCK, which overhangs the hill; ſtand, SELF-COMMAND, and PERSEVERANCE. at the gate of the third in-

cloſure; EDUCATION, with her two daughters; TRUTH, and, PERSUASION. Within the Gate; the NINE VIRTUES, in CHORUS; KNOWLEDGE, the CHIEF, or CORYPHAEUS. and, laſtly; in the grand COURT, of the CITADEL; ſits HAPPINESS, enthroned.

This dome of Happineſs has, from its ſituation here, a fine effect, in the compoſition of the picture. it unites, and brings together, under one, all the ſeveral incloſures; as a citadel unites, and commands, the ſeveral quarters of a town. it is the great terminating centre, to which the whole ſyſtem tends. and, with like art, Cebes has, likewiſe, contrived to preſerve the unity of action; by the gradual progreſſion of the ſeveral groupes and figures; going along, still, forward; from one gate, to another; through all the ſe-

veral incloſures; and, at length, all ending at the throne, and palace, of Happineſs; to which the eye referring all before, is, there, agreeably fixed, and held, at last.

Thus, Gentlemen, I have gone through every part of this picture; and endeavoured to clear it of every objection, I had, either, met with, or, heard of. I am ſenſible, I have tranſgreſſed too far upon your patience. regard for the perſons, whoſe objections I had heard; and, veneration, for this curious relick of antiquity, in which, the highest elegance of true taste is, ſo happily, called in aid of the purest and most ſublime Philoſophy; have carried me into a more diffuſe enumeration of particulars, than will, probably, to ſome, appear to have been, at all, neceſſary. but, in every step, perhaps, of advancement,

even, in liberal knowledge, I believe, it, commonly, requires a longer detail of reasoning, to remove a Prejudice, than, to establish a Truth.

AN
ESSAY
ON
HISTORICAL
COMPOSITION.

READ, FEBRUARY VI. MDCCLII.

AN

ESSAY

ON

HISTORICAL

COMPOSITION.

READ, FEBRUARY VI. MDCCLIII.

ESSAY

ON

HISTORICAL COMPOSITION.

THE ſeveral kinds of fine writing require, each of them, a peculiar method, art, and taste, in their compoſition. of theſe, one of the moſt uſeful, and entertaining, is History; and, at the ſame time, one of the moſt difficult. the proper Art, and method, of Compoſition, in which a good Historian muſt excel, requires, perhaps, not much leſs genius and skill, to execute in perfection, than that of any other kind of writing; without excepting Poetry itſelf.

Compoſition, in History, as in all other writing, is of two kinds. the one relates to the language; the other to the

ſubject. the ſtile of History has been, ſufficiently, conſidered by the writers on eloquence; and, the rules of it laid down, as distinguiſhed from the ſtile of the poet, and, of the orator. it is the other branch of compoſition, the order, ſize, proportion and harmony, or, in one term, the due oeconomy, of the ſeveral parts of the ſubject, which I have chiefly in view, when I ſay, that, Historical Compoſition appears, to me, a matter of great art and genius, to execute in perfection.

Any one, who has formed ſuch an opinion, of the difficulty of this part of compoſition, and, its importance to the perfection of History, will, naturally, expect to find it have a due place among the more eſſential rules of good writing; and, hope to get the art of it explained, and, the rules for it eſtabliſhed, by thoſe

who give, profeſſedly, the rules for writing well, in the ſeveral kinds. and; if he is an admirer of the antients, and, accuſtomed to look upon them as the genuine followers of Nature, and eſtabliſhers of the truest taste upon the justest principles; if he, commonly, conſiders their writings as the most excellent models, and the rules they give as the justest meaſures of whatever is most natural, elegant, and perfect, in the finer arts; he will, first of all, in an inquiry into this branch of the art of writing, have recourſe to the great masters among them; who have explained, ſo fully, and ſo accurately, the whole art of Compoſition, in the ſubjects of the Orator and Poet.

Such a one, however, will, probably, be ſurpriſed, at first, to find ſo little of this kind remaining from them to us. tho' we

have ſo many noble works of theirs preſerved, on the arts of Eloquence and Poetry, there is, but, a ſingle piece remaining, which propoſes to treat, expreſly, on the art of History. I mean the little treatiſe of Lucian. which, indeed, as far as it goes, is excellent; and ſuch as might be expected from one of his fine taste in writing. he wrote it, chiefly, to expoſe the bungling patch-work of ſome wretched writers of his time; who diſgraced the wars and actions of the Emperor, by their manner of recording them. his raillery, and criticiſm, on theſe, is, perfectly, just, and fine; and, all the rules, he gives, are natural, and good; as far as he advances. but, in the compoſition of the ſubject, he contents himſelf with a few general hints; without entering, much, into particulars.

Yet, it can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed, but,

that, the Antients, according to their nice views and method in other arts, had, in this, too, long before the days of Lucian, deduced from Nature, and laid down methodically, the rules relating to the art of History; as well, as of Eloquence, and, Poetry; ſince, that had flouriſhed, among them, as much as theſe; and, the performers, there, had been as many, and, as excellent, in their kind.

And, in fact, by examining, a little carefully, into ſome of their writings; tho' not, profeſſedly, treating on this; we find, I ſay, by what they have ſaid occaſionally, that, they conſidered this branch of Hiſtorical Compoſition, not only as an art, but, even, as the most artificial, and most important, part of the skill of an Hiſtorian.

It ſeems, however, that Ariſtotle, the

Great Maſter in Arts, the Grand Critic, as he is juſtly called, had wrote nothing particular here. nothing of that kind has come down to us; nor is there, indeed, any preſumption, that he wrote any thing, at all, on Hiſtory, as an art. at leaſt, about the time of the revival of Letters in Europe, it was propoſed, as a queſtion, by ſome of the learned of thoſe days, *an datur Ars Hiſtorica?* on which a celebrated ſchoolman boldly put his negative; maintaining, it could not be an art; ſince, Ariſtotle had never called it one.

Perhaps, indeed, Ariſtotle, according to the plan he had choſen; having, once, eſtabliſhed the great Rules of Compoſition, in one chief branch of writing; might think it unneceſſary to be particular in the reſt. for, all the finer arts, the knowledge of which is what we call

Good Taſte, have a mutual reſemblance and affinity. they are, all, of one family. what is, more commonly, ſaid of ſome of them, when they are called the Sister Arts, may be extended, not improperly, to them all. we may ſay of them,

--------*facies, non omnibus una;*
Nec diverſa, tamen; qualem decet eſſe ſororum.

From this near relation, and, intimate connection, with each other; they all agree, in the most eſſential things; and follow the ſame general maxims; in what relates to their form, and, constitution.

Thus, the great laws, which eſtabliſh and regulate the form and constitution, of an Epic Poem, are the ſame, alſo, for Tragedy, and, Comedy; and, not only ſo, but, are well enough known to extend, alike, to various other arts; and, to be, equally, uſeful, for regulating the com-

poſition, in Painting, in Muſic, in Architecture; in, almoſt, every branch of Taſte. In each of theſe, we expect, alike, a regular unity of deſign; the ſubject formed into one intire and complete whole; nothing omitted, at the beginning; nothing wanting, at the end; nothing introduced between, but, what is, truly, a part, or, member, or, at leaſt, a proper ornament, of this one whole; all things conſpiring to one end; to form, and finiſh up, this whole; and render it as complete, and beautiful, as poſſible.

The laws, and rules, of this compoſition, as they are to be obſerved in the two chief kinds of poetry, have been, indeed, admirably explained by Ariſtotle. he has deduced them, clearly, and fully, from their true NATURAL principles; unwarped, by cuſtom, by prejudice, or,

faſhion. this, perhaps, he was, in a great meaſure, enabled to perform, ſo well; by carefully obſerving how NATURE had been followed, and expreſſed, by her chief favourite and admirer, Homer; to whom, of all men, ſhe ſeems to have given the eaſieſt acceſs to her preſence; and, allowed him to behold her, even, without her vail; indulging him with an immediate and full view of all her beauties. For, Homer ſeems to apprehend whatever is moſt NATURAL, moſt fair, and regular, and perfect, in deſign, and compoſition; by ſomething like intuitive perception; while others labour to arrive at the ſame knowledge; and comprehend it, only, by the help of ſtudy, pains, and, art.

By ſuch helps, it was; and, chiefly, I believe, by the careful ſtudy of Homer,

as a model; that, Ariſtotle was able to trace and diſcover the principles, deduce the rules, and eſtabliſh the ſtandard, of Taſte and Compoſition, in the ſeveral arts. he has choſen Poetry, one of the chief of theſe arts, in which to apply and exemplify his rules; and, taught us, how to examine, by the true ſtandard, the ſtructure and compoſition of an Epic, or, Dramatic, poem. and, by this one great inſtance, he might think, he had, ſufficiently, ſhown, how the performers, and critics, in the other arts, may, in like manner, make the application of thoſe univerſal rules to their particular ſubjects.

Accordingly, we ſee, this application has been made, and the ſame laws of Taſte and Compoſition obſerved, by the great Maſters, in Painting, Muſic, and Architecture. the Critics, too, in theſe,

examine each performance by the ſame standard; and expect, in all, this unity of deſign; this one, entire, and complete, whole; this proportion, ſize, and ſymmetry, of the ſeveral parts; and co-operation of them, all, to the ſame end.

I propoſe, to inquire a little, in what follows, how far the ſame standard will ſerve to examine the work of an Hiſtorian. how far the compoſition of the ſubject, in a just and regular history, ought to reſemble that of an Epic Poem. and, whether it may be the best way, for the writer who aims at perfection here, to study, as far as poſſible, to obſerve the ſame rules which guide the Poet in the conduct of his work.

And, first of all, 'tis plain; the Epic Poet, and Hiſtorian, propoſe to themſelves the ſame general end. both work

on the ſame ſubject; and employ the ſame means. both aim to entertain, and to inſtruct, mankind, from examples, of human life and actions, exhibited by narration. *inde, tibi, tuaeque reipublicae, quod imitere, capias; inde, foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites;* is, equally, the leſſon of the Poet, and, Historian. but, it would ſeem, indeed, they begin to differ, immediately, in this; that, the Poet propoſes to inſtruct and pleaſe, by repreſenting human actions as they naturally MIGHT have happened; the Historian, by relating them as they actually DID happen. hence, the Poet ſeems under no reſtraint, from his materials, in what regards the ſtructure and compoſition of his piece. he is at full liberty to contrive, and, execute, the very best plan poſſible. he has, as it were, the very creating of

his materials; as well, as, the forming, and adjusting them together. hence, it ſeems not unnatural to conſider the Epic Poem, as the kind of narration the most capable, of any, to receive the greatest beauty, and, perfection, of Compoſition; and, that, the Historian, ſince his aim and ſubject is the ſame, ſhould conſider it, as, in this reſpect, the most perfect model for his imitation; and, study to be approaching, always, towards it; as near, at least, as the nature, and number, of his materials, will allow him; never departing from it without an abſolute neceſſity, ariſing, unavoidably, from theſe.

Ariſing, I ſaid, unavoidably; becauſe, I fancy, the chief cauſe of an Historian's failing, in the due compoſition of his work, is owing to his mistake of a ſeeming neceſſity, of this kind, for a real. he

must, indeed, confine himſelf, indiſpenſibly, to the ſtrictest veracity, in all things he relates. he must, neither, extenuate, nor, aggravate, the least fact, or circumstance, beyond the truth. he must not heighten or diminiſh; he must not throw, into a falſe light, or, a wrong ſhade, the ſmallest feature of any character he draws. and, if he is giving the general History of a whole nation, he is not, even, always, at liberty to chuſe, what actions he ſhall mention; and, what, not. but, is obliged to relate every action, and, every event, worthy of the knowledge of posterity. to all this, he must have a thorough regard to time, and chronology; or, he will render his History, in a great meaſure, uſeleſs.

Theſe are ſome of the chief neceſſities, which an Historian lies under. and

which, to ſome, have appeared to be of ſuch a kind, as, to render impracticable any attempt of Compoſition, ſuch, as, in an Epic Poem. and, made them think of ſuch a manner of conducting their narration, as does, indeed, ſave them, at once, from all further trouble of compoſition; but, at the ſame time, deprives their work of its chief beauty, and, advantage.

Such, for inſtance, is the conduct of thoſe Hiſtorians, who regulate their Narration by the courſe of the year; and relate all actions, and, parts of actions, together, which happened at the ſame ſeaſon; without regarding any further connection between them; not conſidering, that, there is a mighty difference between marking, diſtinctly, the date of each event, and, heaping all events together,

which are of the ſame date. an Hiſtorian is, indeed, indiſpenſibly, obliged to adhere to the one. but, he is, perhaps, many times, as indiſpenſibly, obliged to depart from the other; if he mean to preſerve any tolerable degree of unity, or, beauty, to his Work.

But this kind of impropriety, and unnatural conduct, in an Historian, I ſhall return to again, by and by; and conſider, at preſent, a particular ſpecies of Hiſtory; in which, the chief of theſe difficulties, I have mentioned, ſeem, in a great meaſure, to vaniſh.

I mean that most ſimple form of Hiſtory, in which, the writer propoſes to record ſome ONE great, or, interesting, action. Here, the Historian ſets out, exactly, in the ſame manner as the Poet; and may, certainly, conduct his Narration,

from beginning to end, by the ſame rules of compoſition; rejecting every incident which is not, either, a neceſſary, and eſſential, member of the ONE whole he is deſcribing; or, which cannot have, at least, the place, propriety, and connection, of an Epiſode. his work may not have ſo many beauties, ſo great a variety, in its compoſition, as a Poem; becauſe he is confined to relate, only, what has really happened. but, thoſe it has, will be, all of them, of the ſame kind; and, owing to the ſame ſort of artful skill, and, conduct of the writer. he cannot, like the Poet, invent, or, create, any part of his materials; but, it depends, entirely, on himſelf, to form, and faſhion, thoſe which are given him; and, to unite them, all, into one beautiful, and, regular, whole.

This part of the Historian's art is prettily illustrated by Lucian. 'In fine, ſays 'he, the Historian is to be conſidered as 'a Phidias, a Praxiteles, or Alcamenes; 'or ſome other of thoſe masters in the 'plastic arts. for, neither are they the 'makers of the gold, the ſilver, the ivory, 'or other materials, on which they work. 'No. thoſe were furniſhed by the Eleans, 'Athenians, or Argives. THEIR buſi-'neſs was to bring them into form. to 'ſaw the ivory; to ſhape, and poliſh, it; 'to unite, and harmonize, the parts; and 'add the gold, in proper ornaments. this 'only is their proper art, and, buſineſs; 'to give to their materials the ſhape, oe-'conomy, and compoſition; and, ſuch, 'exactly, is the proper art, and, skill, of 'the Historian.'

Of this, most ſimple, form of Hiſ-

tory, and, executed in the taſte I mention, the Expedition of the Ten Thouſand, and, the Conſpiracy of Catiline, are, I think, two maſter-pieces in the kind. theſe two, if I miſtake not, will ſtand the ſeverest teſt of Ariſtotle's rules for the compoſition of an Epic Poem; and, ſuffer nothing, even, when examined, by the ſame ſtandard, by which we judge of the compoſition of the Iliad, and, Aeneid.

So, too, I believe, will the Jugurthine War; except, only, in one, and that but a very ſmall, particular; not, at all, any of the eſſential parts; but, a little ſtory, brought in by way of Epiſode. I mean, of the two gallant Carthaginians; who, voluntarily, ſacrificed their lives, to purchaſe an extent of territory to their country. the ſtory well deſerved, indeed, to be recorded; being, truly, as Sallust calls it,

facinus egregium et memorabile. it is, alſo, brought in, at a proper pauſe; and, without interruption to the action, if I may call it ſo, of the History; and, that, too, in the very part, where, it could, only, be mentioned. *eam rem*, ſays he, very properly, *nos locus admonuit.* but, yet, I think, he has miſſed of giving it the propriety of an Epiſode; by not giving it the due INSERTION; by not uniting, and connecting, it, with what it is between. to prove it wants this; I ſhall, only, ſay, that; without altering one ſingle ſyllable; either, before, or after, it; you may cut the whole story out of the book; without miſſing it, in the least; or, leaving the ſmallest ſuſpicion, there had, ever, been any thing between.

But this is, if at all, ſo very ſmall a blemiſh, as, ſcarcely needs a cenſure; in

a work, which is, otherwiſe, ſo uniformly finiſhed, in its compoſition.

In theſe three finiſhed pieces of Antient History, every reader, of any taſte, has, I imagine, found a particular ſatisfaction, and, entertainment, which he meets with in few others; ariſing from this juſtneſs of taſte in the unity of their compoſition. by which; the mind has, always, before it, the progreſs of one great event, or, ſyſtem of actions; is never called off, to any thing trivial, or, foreign; the attention is never interrupted, nor perplexed, nor the imagination embarraſſed, nor the memory loaded, with any thing which is not a proper part of that ONE WHOLE which makes the ſubject; the action, from the firſt, is never broken, never interrupted, never retarded. we go along with it, eaſi-

ly, and regularly, in its cauſes, in its beginning, and, through its whole progreſs, to the end; every particular event, which makes a part of this one whole, is repreſented, without confuſion, by itſelf, till it come to inſert, and, be connected, with ſome others, and, all, together, united in the whole.

In what I ſay of Sallust, I don't include his Prefaces; which are, indeed, not, properly, Exordiums to the works, to which he has prefixed them; but, rather, a ſort of Apologies, for himſelf, as a ROMAN SENATOR, for employing his time as a Writer.

What I mean by the beauties of Compoſition, in the three Hiſtories I have mentioned, will, perhaps, appear, more clearly, by taking notice of the oppoſite faults, in another Writer of no leſs reputation;

whoſe work, too, is of the ſame kind; being, likewiſe, the Hiſtory of one War. I mean Thucydides. who; tho' ſo deſervedly celebrated, as an Author of the firſt rank, in almoſt all the other excellencies of the fineſt writing, is, undoubtedly, very faulty, in the compoſition, and oeconomy, of his ſubject. I would not, however, venture to make this remark, ſo freely, on a Writer of ſuch high character, if I did not find myſelf authorized, in it, by one of the moſt judicious critics of Antiquity; and, himſelf, too, an Excellent Hiſtorian; Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus.—from him, I ſhall give you the following criticiſm, on the faults in the Compoſition of the Hiſtory of the Peloponneſian War; which will, at the ſame time, ſerve, ſo far, to prove what I advanced before; that, the Antients expected very much of the ſame art,

and, skill, in the Compoſition of a juſt History, as, in an Epic Poem.

'What Thucydides is deficient in, ſays 'Dionyſius*, and, for which ſome of the 'critics cenſure him, is that more Artifi-'cial part, τὸ τεχνικώτερον μέρος, of the 'management of the ſubject, which is cal-'led its Compoſition, or, Oeconomy. His 'faults, here, are, both, in the diviſion 'and arrangement of the whole; and, in 'the execution of the ſeveral parts. In 'the diviſion; becauſe he has divided the 'History, by Summers, and Winters. 'from whence, he has fallen into the very 'contrary of what he expected. for, the 'distinction of the dates is not, thence, 'become the clearer; but, even, the more 'difficult, and, embarraſſed. upon which, 'one may, juſtly, be ſurprized, how it 'could eſcape him, to obſerve, that; when

* Criticiſm on Thucydides, p. 140. l. 7. of Sylburgius' edition.

'many actions are happening, at once, in
'many places, if you cut, and mince, the
'Narration of theſe, into ſmall pieces, it
'can no longer receive the light, and
'luſtre, of perſpicuity. and, this is, evi-
'dently, the caſe with him; for example;
'in his third book, to which I ſhall con-
'fine myſelf, here; having begun with
'the affairs of Mitylene; before he has
'ended the relation of theſe, he goes off
'to the actions of the Lacedaemonians;
'and, without completing theſe, he re-
'lates the ſiege of the Plataeans; and,
'leaving this, too, unfiniſhed, he relates
'the war of the Mityleneans. there, too,
'he breaks off; and, turns the Narration,
'to the affairs of Corcyra, and, the Quar-
'rel, about them, between the Lacedae-
'monians and Athenians. leaving theſe,
'likewiſe, half finiſhed, he mentions ſome

'few things concerning the firſt Athenian
'Expedition into Sicily. then, having be-
'gun to relate the deſcent of the Athe-
'nians into Peloponneſus, and, the Ex-
'pedition of the Lacedaemonians againſt
'the Dores; he turns off, ſhort, to the
'actions, at Leucada, of the Athenian ge-
'neral Demoſthenes; and, to the War with
'the Aetolians. then, he goes off to Nau-
'pactus. then, leaving, alſo, the wars on
'the Continent unfiniſhed; he touches,
'again, at Sicily. then, he goes to Delos.
'then, to the War of the Ambracia-
'tae. I need not mention more. for, the
'whole book is, in the ſame way, min-
'ced away to fritters; and, the continui-
'ty of Narration, utterly, deſtroyed. We
'ſtray, as it were, at random. we follow,
'after him, with great difficulty. the un-
'derſtanding is confounded, by this diſ-

'traction of the ſeveral matters; and, can-
'not, eaſily, nor, exactly, piece together,
'by the memory, ſuch ſcattered, and un-
'finiſhed, accounts. the ſubject of History
'ſhould be linked, together, in one un-
'broken chain; more eſpecially, if, it con-
'ſiſt of many various particulars; not eaſy,
'in themſelves, to be diſtinctly underſtood.

'He is blamed, alſo, continues Diony-
'ſius, for giving his history, neither the
'proper beginning, nor, the proper end.
'altho' it is no ſmall part of good com-
'poſition, to take, ſuch a beginning as
'ſuppoſes nothing before it, and, ſuch an
'end as leaves nothing wanting.'

'He is blamed, alſo, for his manner of
'giving the cauſes from which the war had
'its beginning. for, having told us of two;
'the one, real; the other, only pretend-
'ed; he begins his Narration, by a very

'long account of the pretended cauſe;
'which takes up four times as much room,
'in his History, as that, which he himſelf
'thinks the real cauſe, and which he, on-
'ly, mentions in the ſecond place. Where-
'as, he ought, on the contrary, in his in-
'quiry into the cauſes of the war, to have
'given us, first, the true cauſe, as it ap-
'peared to him; and, his History would
'have been introduced with vastly more
'advantage, had he followed, here, the
'rules of a just compoſition.'

Dionyſius, next, proceeds to cenſure him, in, what he calls, the Execution of the ſeveral parts; to which, he ſays, Thucydides does not, always, give the proper ſize, and, ſymmetry; ſome of them being too large; others, too ſmall; ſome, too highly finiſhed; others, with too much negligence. of all which he gives examples.

Lastly, He cenſures the Concluſion of the work; as, not being at the proper period. but, in this, he has been excuſed by others; who believe, he did not live to finiſh his History; altho' he ſurvived the war, many years. the ſame excuſe may be allowed, for ſome of the other faults, in his compoſition. and, upon the whole, one may ſay, that; he has told us, himſelf, in his exordium, that, his work was a journal of things, as they happened.

The amount of his Criticiſm, as he gives it in *another place, is this. that, Thucydides, for want of the proper art of Hiſtorical Compoſition, has disjointed, and ſevered, the parts of his ſubject; and given us, in broken, ſcattered, limbs, what was, in itſelf, one whole and entire body. for which, he thinks him the more deſerving of cenſure; becauſe, as his ſubject

* Letter to Pompey, p. 130. l. 9.

was a ſingle war, this union of parts, and compoſition of a whole, might have been, the more eaſily, executed.

I ſhould, in the next place, conſider that more General kind of History, which relates the whole affairs of a Nation, or, Empire, for many ages, from its foundation to ſome proper period. the ſubject, here, is a more complex whole. the great conſtituent parts are, again, ſo many ſubordinate wholes, when taken by themſelves; of the ſame kind as the ſubjects of thoſe Histories I have mentioned. each of theſe leſſer wholes ſhould be well marked, and diſtinguiſhed, by the writer; both, as complete, in itſelf; and, as connected with others; that, the reader may, eaſily, diſcern its origin from that next before it; and, its inſertion, again, ſo to ſpeak, into the one which follows.

But, to enter into particulars, here, would carry me too far; nor am I, indeed, at all, at preſent, properly prepared for it. I ſhall, only, obſerve; that, Polybius is the Writer, of all Antiquity, who ſeems, to me, to have had the juſteſt, and moſt accurate, view of the beauty, and, advantage, to ſuch general Hiſtory, from this proper compoſition of the ſubject. in this reſpect, I take him to be much ſuperior to Livy; as he is, undoubtedly, extremely below him, in all the Graces of Style and Language. I ſhall give you, from himſelf, his notion of this Hiſtorical compoſition. and, whoever recollects the rules, given by Ariſtotle, for the Poetical Compoſition; and the main things he is, continually, inſiſting on, there; the ἙΝ, and the ὍΛΟΝ; the ἈΡΧΗ, and ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗ; the proportion, and union, of

the ſeveral MEPH; the compariſon to an animal; the MEΓA, as far as it can be 'EYΣYNOΠTON, and, 'EYMNHMONEYTON; whoever, I ſay, recollects theſe things, will ſee, that, Polybius has, juſt, the ſame things in view, in his compoſition; expreſſes them in, very much, the ſame terms; and illuſtrates them by the ſame compariſons. his account of his own work is, I think, the beſt comment, I have met with, on theſe rules of Ariſtotle.

'The ſubject, ſays he*, on which I 'have undertaken to write, is, through 'the whole of it, ONE ACTION; ONE 'GREAT SPECTACLE; HOW, and 'WHEN, and, by what CAUSE, all parts 'of the habitable world are become ſub-'ject to the Empire of the Romans. this

* In the beginning of the third book, page 157. C. of Caſaubon's Edition, folio, Paris, 1609.

'action is, diſtinct, in its beginning; de-
'termined, in its duration; and clear,
'in its final accompliſhment. therefore,
'I think it of uſe to mention, before-
'hand, in a ſummary manner, and give
'a general view of, the chief conſtituent
'parts, which make up this whole. for,
'the mind, from having, firſt, a view of
'the whole, draws many advantages, and
'helps, for underſtanding the particulars;
'and, many, again, from the particulars,
'for the comprehenſion of the whole.
'and, therefore, as I look on the know-
'ledge, derived from both conjunctly,
'as the moſt perfect; I ſhall begin with
'laying down the General Plan, and Pro-
'poſition, of the Subject.'

This is, exactly, the principle, and rule, of the Exordium of an Epic Poem; and, accordingly, he goes on to mention the

ſeveral principal events; from the firſt ΑΡΧΗ, to the ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ, and ΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΙΑ, as he calls them, of the whole.

In the ſame taſte, he lays down the plan of his two preliminary books; in which he propoſes to give a ſummary view, of the conſtitution of Government, extent of power, and former quarrel, of the two rival empires, of Rome and Carthage; as, not ſufficiently known, to the Greeks, for whom he writes.

'From all which, ſays he*, taken to-'gether, it will appear; by what conduct, 'in all theſe particulars; and, from what 'reſources, of troops and funds; the Ro-'mans, at laſt, accompliſhed the grand de-'ſign they had projected; of extending 'their dominion, by land and ſea, over the 'whole known world. and, hence, it will

* Book firſt, page third. D.

'appear, that, this deſign was rationally
'formed, and founded upon ſolid grounds
'of ſucceſs; and, that, they were, ſuffici-
'ently, furniſhed with all the neceſſary
'means for putting it in execution; and,
'accompliſhing, at last, this grand at-
'chievement of univerſal Empire.'

Polybius, alſo, when he takes notice of his own good fortune, in having ſo glorious a ſubject; an action, as he calls it, ſo noble, ſo grand, and of ſo beautiful a variety of parts united into one; and, which, notwithstanding, can, eaſily, be comprehended in one view; which are, just, the ΜΕΓΑ, the ΚΑΛΟΝ, and, ΕΥΣΥΝΟΠΤΟΝ, of Aristotle; he expreſſes himſelf thus.

'*Before theſe times, the affairs of the
'world were ſcattered, and, without con-
'nection. they had no relation to each

* Page third. A.

'other; either, in deſign, or, event. and
'were as much ſeparate, in theſe, as they
'were in place. but, from theſe times,
'History begins to have, as it were, the
'form of one entire body. οἱονεὶ σω-
'ματοειδῆ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἱσο-
'ρίαν. the affairs of Italy and Afric are
'linked with thoſe of Greece and Aſia;
'and, all of them, together, have a refe-
'rence to the ſame End. καὶ πρὸς ἓν γίγ-
'νεσθαι τέλος τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἁπάντων.

'* For, this, continues he, is my pe-
'culiar happineſs, in my ſubject; and
'that which makes the wonder of the
'preſent age; that, as FORTUNE has
'brought the affairs of the whole world
'to have, all of them, one ſingle ten-
'dency; and, to be, all, verging to one
'and the ſame point; νεύειν πρὸς ἕνα καὶ
'τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν· ſo, alſo, the Narra-

* Page third. E.

tion of them can repreſent, to the Rea-
'der, under ONE VIEW, this Conduct
'of Fortune; and the means, employed
'by her, to bring about this Univerſal
'Conſummation of the whole affairs of
'the world. And, this was my chief in-
'vitation, and incitement, to undertake
'this History.

'Several have undertaken, to write of
'ſome of the particular wars; and, of e-
'vents, which happened during the ſame
'time. but, the general oeconomy, and
'united compoſition, of the whole; when,
'and whence, it begun; and, how it got,
'at last, its final iſſue; into this, no man,
'that I know of, has attempted to in-
'quire.

'Therefore, continues he, I thought
'it highly proper, not to omit, nor ſuffer
'to paſs unrecorded, this, the noblest, and

'most uſeful, enterprize of Fortune. τὸ
'κάλλιϛον, ἅμα, καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον, ἐπι-
'τήδευμα τῆς τύχης. for, tho' ſhe is,
'constantly, producing many ſurprifing
'revolutions, in human life; yet, never,
'till theſe our days, did ſhe, once, do a
'deed, or, atchieve an atchievement, to
'be, any way, at all, compared with this;
'ὐδέπω, τοιόνδε, ἁπλῶς, ὅτε εἰργάσατο
'ἔργον, ὅτε ἠγωνίσατο ἀγώνισμα, οἷον
'τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς· which, thoſe, who write,
'only, accounts of particulars, can never
'make us, juſtly, comprehend. one might,
'as well, by going to the moſt remark-
'able cities, one after another; or, by
'viewing them, in ſeparate maps; expect,
'from thence, to underſtand the figure,
'order, and, poſition, of the world. In
'fine, adds he, thoſe men; who think,
'from hiſtories of the ſeveral parts, to

'have a tolerably comprehenſive view
'of the whole together; are, as far, miſ-
'taken, as thoſe, who, by ſeeing the ſcat-
'tered limbs of a body, which had once
'been alive and beautiful, ſhould fancy,
'they had, thus, been, ſufficiently, ſpec-
'tators of the natural action and beauty
'of the animal. for, could one, preſent-
'ly, compoſe, and reunite, the parts; and
'render the animal, again, complete, in
'ſhape; and reſtore to it the comely vi-
'gour, and activity, of life; then, ſhow
'it, again, in this condition, to the ſame
'beholders; they would, I fancy, all of
'them, quickly, confeſs, they had been,
'exceedingly far, ſhort of having had,
'before, a REAL view; and, liker men
'who ſee things in a dream. a NOTION,
'indeed, of the whole, one may form,
'from a part. but, to attain, from theſe,

'a KNOWLEDGE, and diſtinct PER-
'CEPTION, is impoſſible. one ought,
'then, to be ſenſible, that, History of
'particulars contributes, but, extremely
'little, to form the proper judgment,
'and opinion, of the whole. 'tis, on the
'contrary, from the compoſition, and
'connection, of all the ſeveral parts, with
'one another; from comparing them
'together; from obſerving their ſimili-
'tudes, and, their differences; from be-
'ing conducted to the ſeveral proper
'points of view, for ſeeing theſe; that,
'any man can reap the full advantage,
'and enjoy the genuine pleaſure, ariſing
'from just History.'

I have given this quotation the more at large; becauſe, I think, what he ſays, here; tho', directly, levelled, only, at ſeparate Histories, of particular events;

will, at the ſame time, hit a great many writers; who give us, indeed, their performances, under the title of General Hiſtories; but, which are, however, properly ſpeaking, little better, at bottom, than a heap of particulars; only, laid together, by the year; not growing, naturally, out of each other; and, ſtill, far leſs, united in one whole.

I am very far from having any view to Livy, in what I ſay at preſent; altho', I do, indeed, as I ſaid before, think him inferior to Polybius, in the Compoſition of his ſubject.

But, one may ſay; what could Polybius have done, had he been, like Livy, to write the whole Roman Hiſtory, for ſo many ages? he ſeems to tell us this, in a manner, himſelf.* After finiſhing the great event of their eſtabliſhing an univerſal Em

* P. 161. B. 7.

pire; he will make, he ſays, a new beginning; and form another plan, of a whole, ariſing from the former. and, ſo, perhaps, he would have continued to do, had he been to go through ages of their affairs; and united theſe, all, together, into one General Whole; carrying us, always, to the ſeveral points of view; for beholding each one; both, as entire, by itſelf, and, as connected with the rest; and choſen, beſides, one point of General View; for obſerving the proportion, ſymmetry, and union, of the whole.

A more complex kind of History, still, than that of the affairs of one Empire; and, which appears to be least, of all, capable of union, or, connection; or, of being, any way, reducible to one whole; is ſuch a one as that undertaken by Herodotus. and, yet, by the excellent com-

poſition he has given to ſo difficult a ſubject, he has made it plain, that; whenever this beauty is wanting, in any work of History, it is not owing to the nature of the materials, ſo much, as, to the want of proper skill, and art, in the conduct of the Writer. many of the materials of the History of Herodotus appear to have been the most diſſimilar, and untractable; the most averſe to union, or, even, connexion, that can be, well, imagined; yet, has he, with admirable art, contrived a way, to unite them, and form, out of them, all, together, one regular, and beautiful, Whole.

He, too, as the Critics of Antiquity aſſert, was indebted, for this art, to Homer; and, they tell us; he studied Homer, as cloſely, and imitated him, as happily, in this part of compoſition; as he

is, univerſally, known to have done, in the other part, relating to the language. this is, alſo, the opinion of the ſame Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, whom I quoted before. I ſhall, once more, tranſlate his words, from another of his works.

He thinks Thucydides inferior to Herodotus, not only, in the choice, but, in all parts of the Compoſition, of his ſubject. the choice I paſs over, as leſs to my deſign.

'* Then, continues he, as it is a moſt im-
' portant part of Compoſition, to know
' well, where to begin, and, where to end;
' in this, Herodotus has ſhown himſelf, by
' much, the more skilful artist of the two.
' for; as he takes, for his ſubject, the
' quarrel of Greece and Aſia; he begins
' with the cauſe, from which the Aſiatics
' began, firſt of all, to be enemies to the

* Letter to Pompey, p. 129. l. 15.

'Grecians; and, carrying on this quarrel,
'he ends with the chaſtiſement, and fi-
'nal puniſhment, of the Barbarians.

'* A third excellency, in Compoſition,
'is; when the writer knows, what he
'ought, in his Narration, to take in, and
'what leave out. in this, too, Thucydi-
'des is, in my opinion, the inferior. for;
'Herodotus, being ſenſible, that, every
'Narration, which, from the nature of
'the ſubject, muſt, of courſe, be long;
'if it is diſtinguiſhed, by proper reſts, and
'pauſes, the hearer's attention will be, by
'this, relieved; and, he will liſten to the
'whole, with a greater pleaſure. but; if
'the Narration go, conſtantly, on; in
'the ſame ſtretch, and, on the ſame topics,
'without any relaxation; tho' the deſcrip-
'tion be ever ſo proper, and happy, his
'attention will be tired, and, cloyed; being

* Ib. l. 33.

'ſenſible of this, I ſay, Herodotus made
'it part of his plan to give his History
'the beauty of Variety; ſhowing himſelf,
'in this, a ſtudious imitator of Homer.
'and, ſo, whenever we take up his book,
'we find him, always, charm; even, to
'the laſt ſyllable. we read, ſtill, on; and,
'ever, long for more. Thucydides relates
'a ſingle war; without Variety, or, Epi-
'ſode. 'tis nothing, but, Battle, without
'breathing, after Battle; Armament, up-
'on Armament; Speech, after Speech,
'thoroughout. ſo, that, the mind of the
'hearer is overcharged; and, glutted with
'ſatiety. for, as Pindar ſays; Even, Ho-
'ney, Wine, and Love, are ſubject to ſa-
'tiety. I am of his opinion; and love
'that pleaſure, in History, which ari-
'ſes from Variety and Change. I own,
'however, Thucydides is not, altogether,

'without this. in two, or three, places,
'he has ſucceeded, here; as, in the Go-
'vernment of the Odryſi, and, the ac-
'count of the Cities of Sicily.

'* Another important part of Compo-
'ſition is, to diſtinguiſh, and arrange,
'each matter, in its proper place. Now,
'how do theſe two diſtinguiſh and ar-
'range? Thucydides, by conducting his
'Narration according to the times; He-
'rodotus, according to the periods of the
'affairs themſelves. from hence, Thucy-
'dides becomes obſcure, and, hard to fol-
'low. for; while many various things are
'happening, the ſame Summer, or Win-
'ter, and, in many various places; leav-
'ing half told thoſe he begins with, he
'breaks off ſhort, and turns to other af-
'fairs; merely, becauſe they were hap-
'pening the ſame Summer, or, Winter.

* Ibid. l. 44.

'and, thus, we wander, as of courſe we
'must; we trace him, up and down, with
'much difficulty; our memories being
'loaded, and, perplexed. but, Herodo-
'tus, beginning from the Empire of Ly-
'dia, and continuing it on to Croeſus,
'makes the tranſition, thence, with eaſe,
'to Cyrus, who put an end to Croeſus'
'Empire; and, ſo, begins the relation
'of the Affairs of Egypt, Scythia, and
'Afric; delivering ſome of theſe, as, di-
'rectly, in courſe; others, to give his Nar-
'ration the greater beauty and variety, he
'introduces in the way of Epiſode; and,
'going through the actions of the Greeks
'and, Barbarians; for two hundred and
'twenty years, and, on all of the three
'continents; and, winding up his History
'with the flight of Xerxes; he has not,
'once, broken, or distracted, the Narra-

'ration. and, thus, it has happened, that,
'the one Writer, in a ſingle ſubject, has
'thrown before us the limbs, disjointed,
'and ſcattered; instead of preſenting us
'with the whole body, entire. the other
'takes a multitude of materials; and, of
'parts, to appearance, the most diſſimi-
'lar; and, yet, has harmonized them into
'one; and formed one, complete, body,
'from them all.

Notwithstanding the ſeeming ſeverity of this Critic, he concludes thus, at last. '* After all, ſays he, the works of both 'theſe Writers are two beautiful poetical 'Compoſitions. for, Poetical, indeed, I 'am not aſhamed to call them.'

But, diametrically oppoſite, in Compoſition, to Herodotus, is the History of Diodorus Siculus. or, rather, indeed, his work is, utterly, void of all kind of compoſition.

* Ibid. p. 130. l. 35.

for, he guides himſelf, entirely, by the year. he minds no unity, of part, or, whole. whatever action he is relating, whatever part of it he is at, he breaks off, always, with the year; and joins, to it, ſomething elſe, in ſome other nation; only, becauſe it happened, alſo, that ſame year. his manner is as preposterous, as would be that of an Architect, who ſhould fancy, he could, best, convey a regular, and methodical, view of a building, by, first, delineating, together, ſo much, of every part, as was built the first year; then, ſo much, as was built the ſecond year; and, ſo, on, for every year, till all was finiſhed.----or, as ridiculous, as an Anatomist, who ſhould propoſe to deſcribe the parts of an animal, by inches; giving us, first, his account of an inch of arm, of leg, of thigh; and, ſo, forth; going, thus, through

every limb; and, then, return; and, give us another inch, of each; till he had gone through all.

Theſe Annals of Diodorus are like the DAY-BOOK of a Merchant; which contains, to be ſure, every part of his tranſactions; and, juſt in the ſame order of time, in which they happened; and, from thence, indeed, he can, with pains, and piecing, perceive the ſtate of any article he wants to conſider as entire. but, he does not reckon this the PROPER METHOD, for a Merchant. he has his other Book, of nicer Art, and finer Compoſition; in which, every ſingle part is, both, entire, by itſelf; and, has its full, and natural, Connection with the reſt; and, all of them, together, with the whole; the Balance, and Amount, of his affairs, here, he, ſtill, equally, preſerves the time,

and date, of every article; and can, beſides, diſcern, with eaſe, and accuracy, the conſtituent parts of each particular branch; and, comprehend, at one view, the true Reſult, and State of buſineſs, on the whole.

As much as this is different from a Day-book; ſo much, I fancy, ſhould the proper oeconomy, and compoſition, of a juſt Hiſtory, of any kind, be different from the coarſe, and artleſs, tack-work of Annals.

THE END.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

ERRATA.

Page.	line.	read.
23.	2.	δάσκει
43.	4.	just, and well founded;
106.	6.	TRAMITE
114.	pen.	way of
117.	1.	to be

ERRATA.

Page. line. read.

35. 2. Extra

43. 4. just and well Guarded;

105. 6. TRAVITE

114. pen. way of

117. 1. to be